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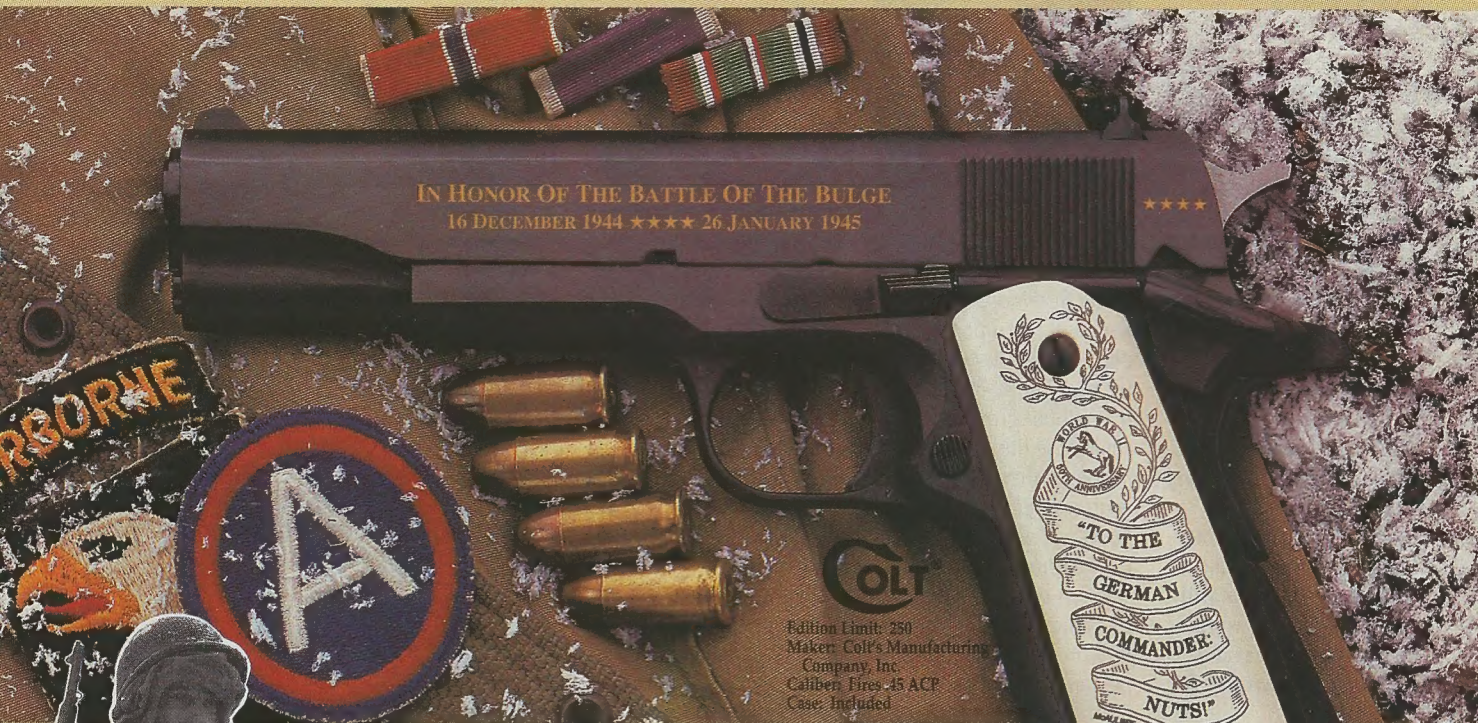
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by Ivan Musicant/
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REACHING 100

by Ed Holm/
The editor's mother marks her one-hundredth birthday this month, joining the growing number of centenarians who represent our last living connection with the vastly different world that existed at the end of the nineteenth century. **36**



For the majority of Americans today, Psalm 90's lamentation applies: "The length of our days is seventy years—or eighty, if we have the strength." For a small but growing percentage of the population, however, the appointed span extends not to eighty years, or even ninety, but to one hundred and beyond. A pair of articles in this issue provide glimpses into the life of one centenarian and the Pacific Northwest fishing town where she was born.

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NATIONAL ARCHIVES, U.S. MARINE CORPS.



42



52

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EDITOR'S DESK

A startling revelation for me, while preparing the article on pages 36-41 of this issue that relates to centenarians in general and my one-hundred-year-old mother specifically, was that as a young schoolteacher she was forced to choose between marrying or continuing her profession. In 1920, across much (perhaps most) of America, a woman could teach school, and she could marry—but she could not do both. (That limitation, however, did not apply to male schoolteachers.)

Seventy-five years later, when American women are finally approaching parity with men both in professional opportunities and in their basic rights as citizens, we tend to forget the magnitude of the inequities that existed just a few generations ago. At the same time it is easy to forget—or perhaps to not realize—that despite the obstacles they faced, women have played meaningful roles in America's history from the beginning. They helped forge a new society in the wilderness; struggled alongside men in the American Revolution; contributed to building a nation following independence and worked hard to free the slaves; made strides in every field in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and won the fight for political equality; and finally gained a measure of respect—and the inspiration to move forward—as a result of their contributions during World War II.

With these achievements in mind, the Cowles History Group of magazines is launching a new annual publication—*Women's History*—with the first issue appearing on newsstands on February 24. Coordinated by *American History's* associate editor, Margaret Fortier, this premier *Women's History* will set the stage for future issues by highlighting, through images and concise biographies by twenty historians and writers, the contributions of one hundred notable American women from the beginning of our land's recorded history through the World-War-II era.

Although some of those featured will be well known to readers, many others have received little or no recognition over the years; a fact that has contributed to the tendency of many to conclude that until recently women played only a limited role in shaping our nation. The stories of those profiled demonstrate that women have indeed been an integral part of our history from the start and have made contributions in virtually every aspect of American life.

The Cowles History Group will also soon unveil *African-American History*, also slated to be an annual publication. The inaugural issue, which is being produced by Cowles in conjunction with the editorial staff of *American Visions, the Magazine of Afro-American Culture*, will appear on newsstands in late January.

Both publications can also be obtained by mail; for each issue send \$3.95 plus \$1.00 for postage and handling to P.O. Box 1776, Mt. Morris, Illinois 61054-0398 or call 1-800-435-9610.

—Ed Holm

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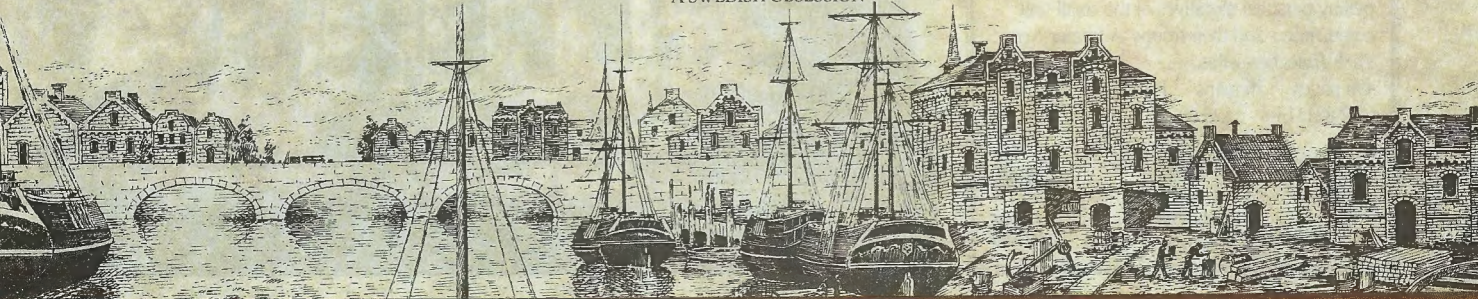
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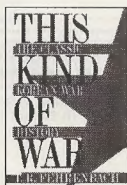
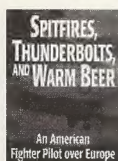
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Occupying the recently renovated lower floors of the Customs House, the Heye Center devotes approximately twenty thousand square feet to exhibition galleries and public spaces. Completed in 1907, the Custom House is one of New York City's premier examples of Beaux-Arts architecture and is designed

nated a National Historic Landmark.

The artifacts that form the core of the NMAI's collections were gathered during a fifty-four-year period by New York banker George Gustav Heye (1874-1957). One of the finest and most comprehensive of its kind, the vast and varied collection includes more than one million objects spanning ten thousand years of native heritage. Due to Heye's broad collecting vision, almost every aspect of Native material culture from across the continent is represented in the museum's holdings.

The Center's first three major exhibits herald the removal of barriers that in past displays separated Native Americans from their works of art, and from non-native peoples as well. Creation's **Journey: Masterworks of Native American Identity and Belief**, on view until February 1997, features 165 objects that originated during a five-thousand-year period with tribal groups from across the Americas. **All Roads Are Good: Native Voices on Life and Culture**, showing until February 1998, displays more than three hundred objects chosen from the museum's collection for their artistic, cultural, spiritual, and/or personal significance by twenty-three American-



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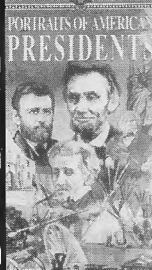


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Indian selectors. This Path We Travel: Celebrations of Contemporary Native American Creativity, which will continue until 1996, showcases the collective talents of fifteen contemporary Native-American artists who explore such traditional Indian themes as creation, sacredness, gender, and environment in their music, painting, sculpture, and storytelling. The exhibits will be complemented by a series of public programs.

Other current and scheduled exhibits:

Quest for the Moon and Other Stories: Three Decades of Astronauts in Space—The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas (713-639-7300), until February 5—explores humankind's fascination with the moon and our efforts to travel there by showcasing photographs taken by recognized photographers as far back as 1864 and by American astronauts who undertook the journey during the last quarter-century.

An American Century of Photography: From Dry Plate to Digital, The Hallmark Photographic Collection—The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (816-561-4000), until February 19—explores the application of new technologies and the rise of amateur photography that has characterized photographic art since the 1880s, through an exhibition of more than two hundred images by both famous and lesser-known practitioners.

Striking Impressions: Childe Hassam as Printmaker—Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California (818-405-2100), until February 26—features almost fifty examples of the etchings, lithographs, and printed books by renowned Impressionist Childe Hassam (1859-1935). Themes reflected in the exhibition range from the patriotic celebration of victory in World War I to life along Long Island Sound.

Howard Pyle and Norman Rockwell: Lasting Legacies—Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington (302-571-9590), until February 18—traces, through ninety-five of their paintings, drawings, and watercolors, the careers of two of America's best-loved illustrators. ★

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HISTORY TODAY

HISTORY CHANNEL TO DEBUT

Twenty-one percent of Americans surveyed by the Gallup organization in April 1994 indicated that television was their primary source of historical information. Only books—excluding school textbooks—scored higher, coming in at 23 percent. Almost half of those polled said that they were “somewhat or very interested” in history, and 67 percent felt that television had not done enough to promote an interest in history. Buoyed by those findings, the Arts and Entertainment Network’s new **History Channel** (H-TV), is preparing for its debut on cable television at 7:00 P.M., January 1, 1995.

Taking as its motto “all of history, all in one place,” the History Channel will, according to vice president Charles Maday, provide “viewer-friendly, original historical programming that stimulates the mind and creates a level of historical awareness in an entertaining and informative way.” In addition, the twenty-four-hour, advertiser-supported network will feature previously released historical documentaries, movies, and miniseries.

Original productions ready for airing

include *The Secret Service*, a four-part documentary that chronicles the history of the Treasury Department branch—best known for its role in guarding America’s presidents and their families—from its 1865 inception to the 1981 attempt to assassinate Ronald Reagan; *Most Decorated*, a four-part program that takes an insightful look at war and soldiers; *Nautilus*, a five-part series that traces the evolution of the submarine from its crude nineteenth-century beginnings to its role as an effective twentieth-century weapon of warfare; *Automobiles*, a nineteen-episode examination of man’s love affair with the machine that did so much to change how Americans live, highlighting such legendary figures of the industry as Henry Ford, John DeLorean, and Dr. Ferdinand Porsche; and *Modern Marvels*, a ten-part look at the visionaries who designed and engineered such modern-day architectural wonders as San Francisco’s Golden Gate Bridge, the Statue of Liberty and World Trade Center in New York City, and the Gateway Arch in St. Louis.

During the next two years, the History Channel will also produce six hours of programming in conjunction with the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Currently in the works in this collaboration are *Kykuit*, the story of the Rockefeller family estate in New York, and *The Eleven Most Endangered Historic Sites*, which will focus attention on properties of historical or architectural significance that have been identified by the National Trust as being threatened by physical deterioration or the pressures of development.

In addition to showcasing films and miniseries with a history theme, *Movies in Time* will present guest histo-

rians and journalists whose commentary will provide historical context, reveal any dramatic license taken by the director, and explore myths that may surrounded the subject being presented.

Among other programs planned are *History for the Kids*, which aims at bringing history alive for children ages seven to thirteen; *History on Campus*, which features lectures by noted historians across the country; *Our Century*, which charts the triumphs and tragedy of twentieth-century warfare; and *Year By Year*, which offers biographical sketches and accounts of events drawn from newsreel footage.

The earliest known military photograph of Civil War general and Indian fighter **George Armstrong Custer** (1839-1876) was sold at auction at New York’s Sotheby’s early last fall. An anonymous American photographer purchased the sixth-plate 1859 ambrotype (pictured at left) for \$23,000. The then-nineteen-year-old Custer, a junior at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, is pictured in a cadet’s summer furlough uniform. Within three years of posing for this photograph, Custer became the youngest brevet brigadier general in the U.S. Army. However, his illustrious Civil War career has been overshadowed by his June 1876 defeat at Montana’s Little Bighorn River, where Custer and every member of his command died at the hands of Sioux and Cheyenne warriors.

Months after announcing its intention to build a new, history-related theme park called **Disney’s America** near the Civil War battlefield at Manassas in northern Virginia, the Walt Disney Company has bowed to intense pressure and postponed the project until another, less controversial site can be found. Arguing that the park would devastate real history in order to create an artificial experience for its visitors, and that accompanying urban sprawl and heightened pollution would despoil what some have called “countryside as lovely as any in Ameri-



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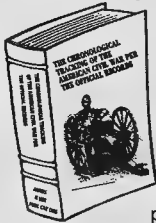
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ca," the outspoken opponents to the project waged a vigorous campaign against the corporate giant in Congress, the press, and among local residents. Disney officials are currently looking for a new location to accommodate the envisioned one-hundred-acre theme park.

As part of its ongoing effort to interpret America's eighteenth-century past accurately, Virginia's Colonial Williamsburg—the nation's premier outdoor museum in what was an important colonial town—re-created in October one of the most horrific elements of the institution of slavery, an auction in which human beings were up for sale. The event, protested by some as being degrading to African Americans, was defended by Christy Coleman, director of Colonial Williamsburg's eight-year-old Department of African-American Interpretation and Presentations, as an attempt to educate today's Americans regarding "horrid circumstances" under which diverse people from West Africa were brought to America's shores, sold into slavery, and deprived of even their most basic human rights, and who yet "were able to build a community and family relationships." Most who witnessed the presentation, in which Christy herself took the part of a pregnant slave, were visibly moved. Said one spectator: "Pain had a face. Indignity had a body. Suffering had tears."

On March 3-4 the National Archives and Records Administration's College Park, Maryland facility will host *A Woman's War Too: U.S. Women in the Military in World War II*, a major conference exploring the vital contributions made by the approximately four hundred thousand women who served in America's armed forces during 1941-45. Keynote speaker Sheila A. Widnall, who as Secretary of the Air Force is the first female service Secretary, will join leading figures in women's and military studies to discuss such topics as governmental policy affecting the role and status of women in the military; medical, training, and support services provided by women to the armed forces; and women's war experiences as told both from veterans' personal viewpoints and from the historian's perspective. For more information contact the National Archives Public Affairs Office at 202-501-5525. ★

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TIME TRAVELER

IN SEARCH OF BLACK HISTORY

In looking at this nation's past, one could suggest that destiny had a special mission in mind for African Americans. The mass-migration of blacks to these shores began in 1619—before the Pilgrims. But unlike others, who were drawn to America by the promise of freedom and opportunity, Africans came as slaves in shackles and chains.

Denied what other Americans could take for granted, the black community committed itself to the quest for freedom and dignity. Ironically, as a result of this quest it became a preserver of the founding fathers' dream of a new republic where all are equal in the eyes of the law. From the birth of the nation, black America produced successive generations of leaders

who kept the dream alive—Paul Cuffe and Richard Allen in the eighteenth century; Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman in the nineteenth century; and more recently, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Each February, Americans across the nation pay tribute to the many African Americans who sacrificed to make the "Spirit of '76" a lasting reality. "Black History Month" began in 1976 as an extension of "Negro History Week," launched fifty years before by Carter G. Woodson. Recognized by many as the father of black history, Woodson started this commemoration because he was frustrated by the literature of his day that denied, distorted, or failed to recognize the African-American contribution to the building of our nation.

In 1986, Congress officially set the

month of February aside as National Black History Month. President Ronald Reagan's proclamation described black history as "a book rich with the American experience but with pages unexplored." Today, those willing to explore that "book" can visit a host of museums, historic homes, and cultural institutions around the country that preserve and interpret one or more facets of the black experience or the contributions of particular African Americans.

An excellent place to start is Alabama's Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (205-727-6390). Situated on five thousand acres with more than one hundred buildings, the site honors Booker T. Washington, the best known and most influential African-American leader of his day, and George Washington Carver, the slave-born botanist famous for developing hundreds of uses for the peanut, one of the South's most important cash crops.

Throughout the South there are plantations where visitors can walk the fields once cultivated by slaves and tour the remains of their cabins. Many of these plantations provide pamphlets and other mate-

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rial that recount the history of their African-American residents. Among those worth seeing are **Kingsley Plantation** (904-251-3537) in Jacksonville, Florida, which, as fate would have it, was inherited by a former slave, Anna Madgine Jai; **Sotterly Mansion**, (301-373-2280) in Hollywood, Maryland; President James Monroe's country estate, **Ash Lawn-Highland** (804-293-9539), in Charlottesville, Virginia; and also in Charlottesville, **Monticello** (804-293-2158), the home of Thomas Jefferson.

Colonial Williamsburg (804-229-1000) and the nearby plantation at **Carter's Grove** (804-220-7452) in Virginia exhibit artifacts relating to slave life and provide highly dramatic tours conceived and presented especially for families. The "Other Half," for example, is a two-hour walking tour and living history interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg that embraces the slave trade, the middle passage, urban and rural slavery, and the black heritage in religion and music.

Harpers Ferry National Historic Park (304-535-6163) in West Virginia is of special interest to those who believe that African-American history must be viewed

in its own right and as an integral part of America's past. The entire town is a museum where programs deal with the antebellum tensions that in 1859 exploded into one of the nation's most devastating conflicts when abolitionist John Brown attempted to capture the federal arsenal located in the town in order to provide arms for a slave revolt.

Throughout the North a wonderful array of museums and historic sites captures the essence of the African-American experience. The **Abiel Smith School and Museum of Afro-American History** (617-742-1854), in Boston traces three centuries of African-American contributions to New England. The **Whaling Museum** (508-997-0046) in New Bedford, Massachusetts provides a detailed look at the whaling industry of the pre-Civil War years in which free African-Americans played a substantial role as laborers, ship owners, and investors.

A "must" stop on any tour is New York City's **Arthur Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture** (212-491-2200). Schomburg, a Puerto Rican of African descent, moved to New York in 1891 and

shortly thereafter began collecting what today is the world's most comprehensive and priceless archive documenting the history and culture of the African diaspora. Also in Manhattan is one of America's most renowned institutions—the **Studio Museum of Harlem**, (212-864-4500)—for the presentation of African-American, Caribbean-American, African, and Hispanic art, which originated with a group of black artists who in the late 1960s frequented a studio above a liquor store. In Philadelphia the **Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum, INC.** (215-574-0380) provides a twenty-two-site, African-American heritage tour of that city.

The black experience in the Midwest is the principal theme of Chicago's **DuSable Museum of African-American History** (312-947-0600), while in Detroit the **Motown Museum** (313-875-2264), located in the building where the Supremes, Smokey Robinson, The Temptations, Steve Wonder, and others gave the world the "Motown Sound."

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The title of the publication is American History. (ISSN #1076-8866). It is published bi-monthly. The offices of publication and the general business offices are located at Cowles History Group, 602 S. King St., Suite 300, Leesburg, VA 22075. The editor is Ed Holm, Cowles Magazines, Inc., 6405 Flank Drive, Harrisburg, PA 17112. The owner is Cowles Magazines, Inc., 6405 Flank Drive, Harrisburg, PA 17112. The sole stockholder owning 1% or more of the total amount of stock of Cowles Magazines, Inc., is Cowles Media Company, 329 Portland Avenue, Minneapolis, MN 55415. There are no bondholders, mortgagees or other security holders. The average number of copies printed per issue during the preceding 12 months was 169,740 for September/October 1994, 162,289. The average sale of copies through dealers, carriers, street vendors, and counter sales for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 5,901; for September/October 1994, 7,761. The average sale of copies through mail subscription for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 150,021 for September/October 1994, 132,219. The average paid circulation per issue during the preceding 12 months was 155,922; for September/October 1994, 139,980. The average number of sample, complementary or free copies distributed for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 2,269; for September/October 1994, 2,513. The average number of copies distributed for each issue during the preceding 12 months by all means was 158,190; for September/October 1994, 142,493. The average number of copies not distributed for office use, leftovers, spoiled for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 1,705; for September/October 1994, 2,719. The average number of copies returned from News Agents for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 9,845; for September/October 1994, 17,077. The average total distribution, copies returned or not distributed for each issue during the preceding 12 months was 169,740; for September/October 1994, 162,289.

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To commemorate the 220th anniversary of the beginning of the American Revolution we will be bringing several of the country's best Colonial historians together in Concord during Patriots' Day celebrations to offer discussions on such topics as: the preceding alarms (the Powder, the Portsmouth and the Salem alarms); the battles of Lexington and Concord; and the aftermath of events (Bunker Hill, the siege & evacuation of Boston and the establishment of the Continental Army).

To compliment our talks we will attend local Patriots' Day celebrations and reenactments and tour Lexington, Concord, Battle Road, and historic Boston.



COWBOYS & INDIANS: A LOOK AT THE OLD WEST

with Host John McDermott
at the Radisson Hotel Northern in Billings, Montana
May 18 - 21, 1995

The Northern Plains were the nation's last frontier. It was here that Sioux, Arapaho and Northern Cheyenne battled the U.S. Army; that hard-working, hard-living cowboys - America's mythic heroes - drove herds of cattle west from Texas; and that large ranchers sent armed gunmen against farmers and small ranchers in what became known as the Johnson County War.

These and other topics are the subject of our seminar, which will bring together some of the West's leading historians and Native Americans to discuss and assess the three decades, from 1866 to 1896, which may have had the greatest impact ever on American imagination.

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all-black unit to see action in the years following the Civil War. Recently, the fort became the site of the **Buffalo Soldier Monument**, that pays tribute to the African-Americans in uniform who helped secure the western frontier in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Further north, visitors to the restored **Historic Fort Snelling State Park and History Center** (612-726-1171), in St. Paul, Minnesota can learn about the all-black 25th Infantry Regiment stationed there in the 1880s through displays, photographs, and living history role-players.

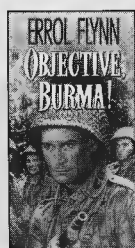
The largest African-American U.S. military base during World War II, Arizona's **Fort Huachuca Museum** (602-533-5736) recalls the all-black 92nd and 93rd divisions and all-black units of Women's Army Corps (WACS) who were stationed there. During 1913-31, the fort had also served as the regimental headquarters of the 10th Cavalry.

The **Black American West Museum** (303-292-2566) in Denver uses photographs and artifacts of black cowboys, homesteaders, and soldiers to tell a story too-long hidden—the wide range of African-American activities in the old West. Also chronicling this aspect of black history is the **Adams Memorial Museum** (605-578-1714) in Deadwood, South Dakota. Among the African-American cowboys featured in the museum is Nat Love, a former Tennessee slave who earned the name "Deadwood Dick" for his triumphant feats in the town's July 4, 1876-celebration shooting and roping contests. Love treasured his triumph, setting his nickname in type as the subtitle of his 1907 autobiography.

In Earlimont, California, **Colonel Allen Allensworth State Historic Park** (805-849-3433), serves as a monument to the man who established the all-black town in 1906. Travelers may tour the restored town daily and view "The Spirit of Allensworth" in the visitor center.

Those who wish to go beyond the short list provided here will find a recent book, *In Their Footsteps*, by Henry Chase (Henry Holt, 1994) quite useful. A wonderful compendium that can help bring Black History Month alive, the book is a comprehensive and authoritative guide to one thousand African-American landmarks, including museums, churches, cemeteries, parks, cultural centers, battlefields, and private homes. ★

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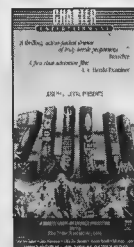
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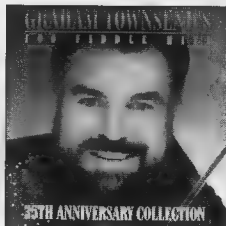
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AMERICA AND THE
HOLOCAUST

Originally produced for the Public Broadcasting System's *The American Experience* and now available on video cassette, *America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference* (Shanachie Entertainment, \$19.95) is a disturbing account that charges the United States government turned its back on European Jews on the eve of and during World War II. The production, narrated by actor Hal Linden, utilizes vintage photographs, period newsreels, and interviews with historians, government officials, and American Jews to examine how anti-Semitism, the U.S. government's failure to take action, and State Department policies contributed to the deaths of thousands of Europe's Jews in the horrors of Adolf Hitler's "final solution."

The program personalizes the plight of European Jews by integrating throughout the narrative the story of Kurt Klein, who emigrated from Germany in 1937 to join his brother and sister in the United States. The Kleins struggled for four years to secure permission for their parents to leave Germany for America. At every turn, their efforts were thwarted by U.S. State Department policies. After the war ended the Kleins learned their parents had died in the German concentration camp at Aushwitz—as much victims of America's immigration laws as of Hitler's Nazis.

Beginning in the 1920s, the U.S. established strict and limited immigration quotas that reflected a preference for Anglo-Saxon and Western Europeans over newcomers from Eastern and Southern Europe. During the Depression-wracked 1930s, would-be immigrants also were required to be financially secure so that they would not constitute a burden on the U.S. economy. As a result, when Hitler's regime prohibited departing Jews from taking their resources with them, few could qualify for admission to the United States.

As the situation within Germany

worsened during 1938, Jews urgently petitioned the United States for asylum. But with many Americans believing that the nation lacked the resources to recover from the Depression if it became embroiled in Europe's problems, a spirit of isolationism evolved that precluded any changes in the restrictive immigration laws.

In 1940, as Jews crowded American consulates in Europe seeking visas, Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long wrote that the flow of immigrants to the U.S. could be stalled indefinitely "by simply advising our consuls to put every obstacle" in the way of applicants. Two years later, when reports of Hitler's plans to exterminate all European Jews reached America, the State Department dismissed them as "a wild rumor inspired by Jewish fears."

Finally, Treasury Department officials discovered proof of State Department complicity in hampering efforts to rescue Jews from Europe. When Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, himself a Jew, threatened to expose the findings, Roosevelt issued an executive order in January 1944 creating the War Refugee Board. The agency subsequently played a vital role in saving the lives of 200,000 Jews. Had this move been taken earlier, many more thousands might have been spared the fate of the six million Jews methodically exterminated by Hitler and his followers.

The Killer Angels (Cathedral Audio Books, Inc., nine audio cassettes, \$39.95)—the Pulitzer-Prize-winning epic by the late Michael Sharra (1929-1988), which was adapted into the 1993 critically acclaimed motion picture *Gettysburg*, is now available on audio cassette. The fictional but remarkably accurate narrative of the pivotal 1863 Civil War battle is read by award-winning actor George Hearn, with additional commentary before and after the text by *Gettysburg* director Ronald F. Maxwell. Complementing the uncut text is selected music from the motion-picture soundtrack. ★

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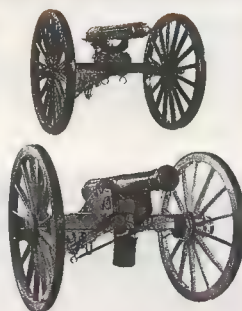
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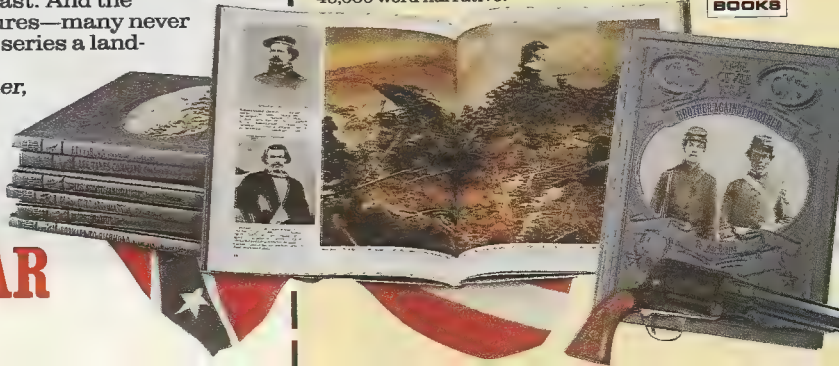
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THE AGE OF DIRIGIBLES

When the White Star Line's SS *Titanic* struck an iceberg and sank in 1912 with the loss of more than 1,500 passengers and crew, the world was stunned at the fate of such a magnificent, presumably unsinkable vessel. Despite the tragedy, ocean liners continued to ply the seas. Twenty-five years later, however, when an airborne luxury liner—Germany's *Hindenburg*—met disaster with only thirty-four lives lost, its demise effectively ended passenger airship travel.

The story of the ill-fated behemoth of the air (at 803 feet the *Hindenburg* was only 78 feet shorter than the *Titanic*) is just one facet of the saga of the great dirigibles related by Rick Archbold in *Hindenburg: An Illustrated History* (Warner/Madison Press, New York City and Toronto; 229 pages, \$60.00). Illustrated with helpful diagrams, hundreds of

black-and-white and color photographs, and evocative paintings by Ken Marschall, this large-format book is visually stunning, conveying the awe-inspiring majesty of the huge ships that seemed to glide effortlessly across the sky.

Before examining the life and death of the *Hindenburg*, Archbold recounts Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin's first trip aloft, as a German military observer during the American Civil War; his ideas for a rigid airship with multiple gas cells; and the years of experimentation that culminated in 1911 in the *Schwaben*, the first commercially successful airship.

Having set the stage, Archbold proceeds to Germany's World-War-I use of zeppelins as military aircraft capable of conducting cross-channel bombing raids on England; the dismantling at the end of the war of Germany's airship fleet that resulted in the Zeppelin Company being reduced to manufacturing pots



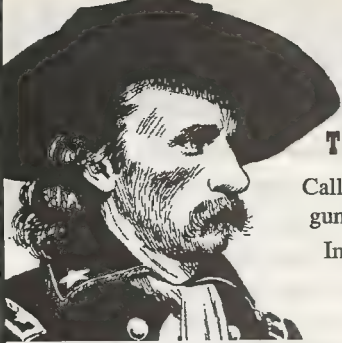
and pans; the company's return to airships with the 1922 U.S. Navy contract to build what would become the USS *Shenandoah*; the Italian airship disaster that led to the U.S. decision to require the use of non-flammable (not "inflammable" as the author states in error) helium in place of explosive hydrogen gas in its airships; the golden age of airship passenger travel; the terrible fates of Britain's *R 101* and America's *Macon* and *Akron*; and the exploitation of the German dirigibles for propaganda purposes by Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime.

By World War II, rigid airships had become a thing of the past. Non-rigid craft, known as blimps, played an important role as convoy escorts during the war and have since been employed for both military and commercial use. "The story of the dirigible, and above all the rigid airships" Archbold concludes, "has been as much one of what-ifs and might-have-beens as it has of ships built and successfully flown."

Other recent books of note:

Love and Rutabaga: A Memoir by Claire Hsu Accomando (St. Martin's Press, New York City; 214 pages, \$19.95). Through spirited vignettes the author weaves a vivid account of her life as a child in France during World War II. With her Chinese-born father stranded in Russia, Claire, along with her mother and younger brother, spent the war years with her grandparents and a host of other colorful household characters who were determined to make life sweet in spite of the hardships. Despite fear that the family's activities for the French Resistance would be discovered; imprisonment of the author's aunt by the Gestapo; and the deaths of Accomando's grandfather and youngest brother, she remembers these years with warm nostalgia.

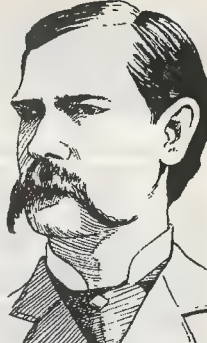
Zipper: An Exploration in Novelty by Robert Friedel (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York City; 288 pages, \$23.00). This story of the "hookless fastener," invented by Whitcomb Judson a century ago, aims to demonstrate that technological innovations are produced by imagination rather than necessity and to tell the American people about the place of novelty in their lives. Friedel explains how an invention initially consid-



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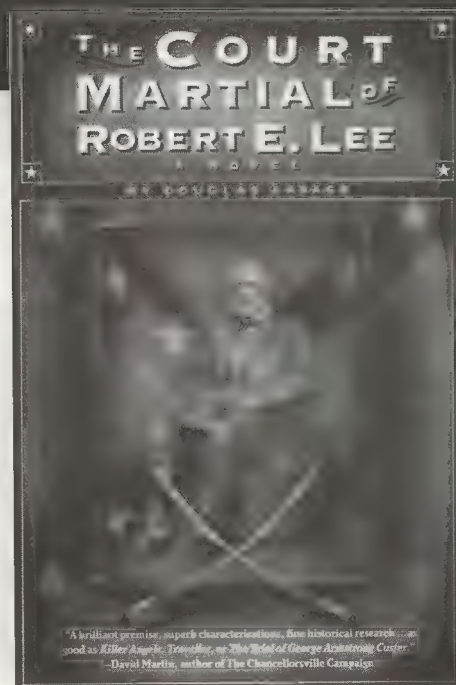
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Out of Ireland: The Story of Irish Emigration to America by Kerby Miller and Paul Wagner (Elliot & Clark, Washington D.C.; 132 pages, \$24.95). In this study, noted scholar Kerby Miller and filmmaker Paul Wagner portray Irish emigration to the United States as documented by the letters and memoirs of many of the seven million people who crossed the Atlantic during the last three centuries. Based on research for a documentary film for public television, the book relates the oppressive conditions and economic hardships that drove the Irish to the typhus-and-cholera-laden "coffin ships" that took them to the "promised land" of America—only to be greeted by urban poverty, industrial exploitation, and virulent anti-Catholicism.

Capone: The Man and the Era by Laurence Bergreen (Simon & Schuster, New York City; 701 pages, \$30.00). Drawing on interviews and documents never before available, biographer Laurence Bergreen seeks to challenge our perceptions of Al Capone (1899-1947), one of the nation's most infamous gangsters. Asserting that the "Capone we remember was the creation of a disease [syphilis] that had magnified his personality," the author presents a complex, life-size portrait of the Chicago racketeer who could be "charismatic: warm, charming, generous," as well as a "jowly smiling Satan."

My Last Chance to be a Boy: Theodore Roosevelt's South American Expedition of 1913-1914 by Joseph R. Ornig (Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania; 258 pages, \$29.95). In February 1914 Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) led a group of naturalists into the Brazilian wilderness to collect wildlife specimens for New York's American Museum of Natural History and to chart the course of an unexplored river. With letters, diaries, and firsthand accounts, including Roosevelt's, the author follows the three-month adventure that cost six lives and almost killed the former president. While he survived the lack of food, the malaria, and even murder, and lived to see the river renamed in his honor, Roosevelt never fully recovered from the expedition. ★

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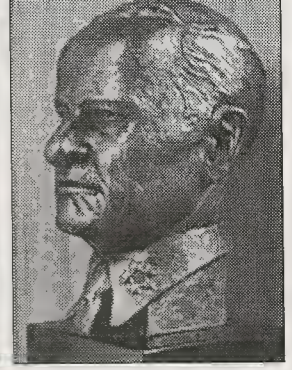
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INTERVENTION



BY IVAN MUSICANT FOR MORE THAN A CENTURY—FROM PANAMA IN 1885 TO HAITI IN 1994—THE U.S. HAS EMPLOYED ITS ARMED FORCES IN THE CARIBBEAN TO PROTECT AND ENFORCE ITS STRATEGIC INTERESTS.



FOR THE THIRTIETH TIME, United States armed forces have landed on Caribbean shores, this time in Haiti, to sweep clean what old, deaf Assistant Secretary of State Alvey Adee in 1915 called "the public nuisance at our doors." Why Haiti? Why the Caribbean at all? Because eons ago the accidental formation of land and sea masses shaped the North American continent into a colossus that—like a giant meat axe poised overhead—dominates its Central-American and Caribbean neighbors. Strategic geography dictates political events; the United States can no

more ignore the Caribbean than Great Britain can disregard the North Sea.

The Isthmus of Panama and its canal—shielded on the Atlantic side by an island chain of sentry boxes extending two thousand miles from Key West to Trinidad—constitutes the strategic chokepoint of the Western Hemisphere. For the United States, defending this hemispheric jugular vein by stabilizing regional politics and controlling the At-

lantic sea approaches is the nut-kernel of interventionist policy in the Caribbean and Central America.

Motivations, however, shift with the changing currents of international and domestic events. U.S. actions in the Caribbean before the Civil War were an extension of Manifest Destiny, as military forces pacified Central-American way stations for an America expanding across the continent. The defense of the Pana-

NICARAGUA INTERVENTION 1909-10, 1912 OCCUPATION 1927-33	CUBA INVASION & OCCUPATION 1898-1902 INTERVENTION 1906, 1912, 1917	PANAMA SHOW OF FORCE 1856 INTERVENTION 1885, 1901, 1902, 1903 INVASION 1989	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC OCCUPATION 1916-24 INVASION 1965	GRENADA INVASION 1983
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ma Canal was the overriding strategic consideration for interventions during the classic "Banana Wars" era of 1899-1934. And several rationales have provided justification for U.S. military involvements from the 1960s to the present: the Cold War for landings in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and Grenada in 1983; security issues for invading Panama in 1989; and humanitarian considerations and U.S. domestic politics for the occupation of Haiti in 1994.

If any Americans needed a lesson regarding the absolute necessity for a transisthmian canal, it came during the Spanish-American War, when the U.S. battleship *Oregon*, stationed on the mist-shrouded waters of Puget Sound, had to make a sixty-seven-day, 15,770-mile voyage around South America to join other fleet units concentrated in the Caribbean. A canal through the isthmus, it was obvious to U.S. strategists, would have cut the voyage by two-thirds. Future conflicts with enemy maritime powers would doubtless require a more rapid concentration of the fleet.

Transit from ocean to ocean via Panama was hardly a new idea. In 1519, Spain completed the Western Hemisphere's first transcontinental highway, a two-donkey, cobbled isthmian track, as the great post road of its empire. By 1534 the



Spaniards had dredged the twisting Chagres River, allowing water traffic for a thirty-odd-mile segment of the Atlantic-Pacific crossing. But for the remaining fifteen miles, the path across the isthmus ran unchanged for the next 321 years.

In 1831, after the Spanish American wars of independence, New Granada, later called Colombia, annexed the territory of Panama atop its coast.

The simultaneous discovery of gold in California and the United States victory over Mexico in 1848 stretched the national polity unbroken across North America. But without the transcontinental railroad that would be built twenty years hence, the arduous overland trek from St. Louis to the Pacific slope could take six months. By contrast, travel via steamer from New York to Panama, then by flatboat and mule across the isthmus, and finally aboard another ship to San Francisco took less than eight weeks. Panama became the linchpin of American hemispheric expansion.

In Colombia, the American minister negotiated a permanent American presence on the isthmus. The treaty, which remained in effect until 1903, served upon the United States the right and duty under international law to maintain the security of the line of transit.

In 1855 the American-owned Panama Railroad Company opened for business: the single-track, forty-eight-mile railway

The United States' resounding victory in the Spanish-American War—which included heroic action on the heights above Santiago, Cuba by Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders (above and pages 28-29)—made the nation a world power and custodian of an island empire. With this came the need to maintain U.S. paramountcy in the Caribbean and the responsibility to promote stability there.

ran from Aspinwall (renamed Colón in 1890) on the Atlantic side to Panama City on the Pacific shore. The monumental engineering feat brought thousands of Caribbean and Central American laborers to the isthmus. In 1856, joined by local "disorderly elements" in Panama City, they rioted, killing fifteen Americans and wounding fifty more. The subsequent arrival of the U.S. Navy sloop *St. Mary's* in Panama City's harbor, with her guns cleared for action, brought temporary calm. Some months later the first American landing on the isthmus took place when 160 sailors and Marines from the frigate *Independence*, armed with a pair of boat howitzers, cleared the railroad terminal of rioters and prepared to defend the line of transit against attack. Some practice volleys and a battery drill with the howitzers convinced the mob to disperse.

In 1885 the United States returned to

MAP BY DOUGLAS SHIRK

Panama. Following the Colombian presidential election of 1884, an insurrection sparked by the Liberal "outs" had swept across that nation. Meanwhile Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, had begun his ill-fated isthmian-ditch venture, bringing "thousands of desperate and vicious characters" to Panama City. On March 11, 1885, in anticipation of trouble, the United States screw sloop *Galena* anchored in the harbor of Aspinwall on Panama's Caribbean shore.

Within a week, a Colombian revolution swept across the isthmus. In Panama City, Colombian General Rafael Aizpuru declared himself president of the "Sovereign State of Panama." His followers turned on the railroad, destroying rolling stock, switches, and the telegraph.

At Aspinwall, the *Galena* landed sixteen Marines and a dozen sailors to guard the railroad's Atlantic terminal. Further adding to the chaos was the "army" of Pedro Prestan, a xenophobic

Haitian, with a particular hatred for white Americans. For two weeks, Prestan's gang extorted and terrorized Aspinwall, destroying a good part of the railroad in the process. When Prestan demanded some arms that had just arrived by steamer, took hostages, and threatened to kill every American in reach, the *Galena's* commanding officer landed every additional available man, 112 seamen. But to the consternation of all, they served only to reinforce the guard around the wharf and did not confront Prestan directly.

On April 1, Colombian reinforcements coming up the railroad from Panama City defeated Prestan near Aspinwall. The remnants of his band ran amok and torched the wooden town to ashes before being taken prisoner and hanged by the Colombians.

In Panama City, General Aizpuru again declared himself President of Panama and swore vengeance on every American. From Aspinwall, the American consul

cabled the State Department, "More force here or Americans must abandon Isthmus." On April 1, Navy Secretary William C. Whitney committed the United States to full-scale intervention: 460 Marines, 280 sailors, six three-inch field guns, and three Gatlings—the largest American overseas expedition between the Mexican and Spanish-American wars. So poor were the Navy's resources at this point in history that the men sailed in civilian steamers and the Marines had to borrow entrenching tools and rubber ground sheets from the Army.

On the Pacific side at Panama City, the sloop *Shenandoah* landed 125 sailors and Marines to defend the railroad depot. On the 10th, the screw frigate *Tennessee* and sloop *Swatara* anchored at Aspinwall. The steamer *City of Para* brought the first contingent of Marines. They rigged a flatcar with boilerplate armor, mounted a one-pounder Hotchkiss revolving cannon, and chugged down the line to Panama City; the first train in six weeks. When the *Acapulco* arrived with the remainder of the troops, Commander Bowman H. McCalla took command of forces ashore.

On learning that Aizpuru had thrown up barricades in Panama City, McCalla resolved to occupy the town. Against 500 rebels of various stripes, American forces numbered 824 Marines and sailors. It all transpired like a textbook exercise in minor tactics. "The several columns advanced without music," McCalla reported, "the Marines in two lines deployed for street fighting, the Gatlings and field pieces between the lines."

There was no resistance. Four days later a battalion of Colombian troops arrived by sea to re-establish control. The Americans, however, would be back.

In February 1895, a small group of



PRIVATE COLLECTION

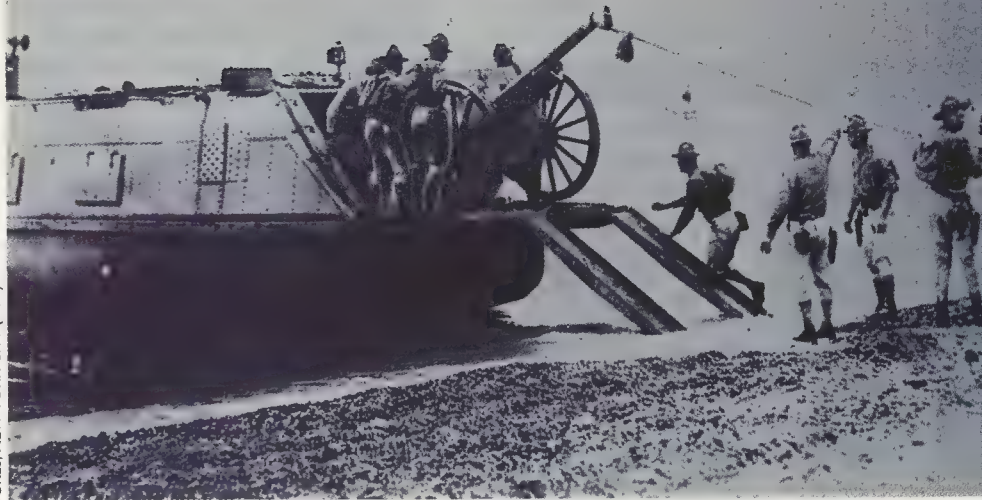
Even before the U.S.-sanctioned 1903 revolution that created an independent Panama, the isthmus served as the focal point of American strategy in the Caribbean and Central America. Paramount was the need to preserve freedom of transport across the isthmus—first via the railway completed in 1855 and later by way of the canal opened in 1914. Here U.S. bluejackets manning a railcar-mounted rapid-fire gun help to keep order during a 1902 landing.

Cuban rebels launched the final War of Cuban Liberation against a delusional, rusty Spain. Almost immediately the war impacted on the United States. The American sensationalist press ("new journalism," William Randolph Hearst called it) recounted stories of Spanish atrocities, real and imagined, in high-stakes circulation wars. Press-driven public opinion in turn drove American politics, especially the Republican-controlled Congress, to demand Cuban recognition, even if it led to war with Spain. But contrary to belief, America's "yellow press" did not drive American policy as it did public opinion and politics.

Neither Democratic President Grover Cleveland nor his Republican successor William McKinley (who assumed office in 1897) desired an independent Cuba, and both forcefully pressed Spain to legislate overdue reforms and grant the island a true degree of political autonomy. Withstanding enormous domestic pressures, each offered in vain their good offices to mediate the peace and political future between Spain and Cuba.

The United States government could not permit this running sore to continue perpetually, however, and the descent to war began in February 1898. The publication of a stolen letter written by Spain's Washington envoy, humiliatingly critical of President McKinley and suggesting cynical methods to convince the United States of Spain's intentions in Cuba, brought a diplomatic storm. One week later, on February 15, an explosion aboard the U.S.S. *Maine* (today generally thought to have been accidental) sank the battleship in Havana harbor, killing 252 seamen and Marines. The Navy court of inquiry fixed no blame, but laid the cause to "probably a submarine mine."

On April 11, recognizing that nothing short of "subjugation or extermination" would end the three-year bloodletting, President McKinley presented his special Cuba message to Congress, asking the body to authorize "the military and naval forces of the United States" to intervene in the Cuban war. Congress voted out a Joint Resolution indistinguishable from a declaration of war. Before any formalities, the Navy's North Atlantic Squadron began the blockade of Cuba. Citing the Joint Resolution as an overtly hostile act, Spain declared war on April 24. The U.S. Congress followed suit the next day.



U.S. NAVAL INSTITUTE PHOTO ARCHIVES, ANNAPOLIS (BOTTOM) AND CULVER PICTURES, NEW YORK CITY (TOP)

The U.S. Navy was ready, the U.S. Army was not. On May 1, Commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron pounced on the decrepit Spanish naval force at Manila Bay in the Philippines, destroying it utterly. In the Caribbean, an elusive Spanish squadron of four armored cruisers and two destroyers slipped past the American scouts into Santiago de Cuba. Immediately the Navy concentrated its overwhelming forces in a close blockade.

Once the Spanish ships were blocked up in port, the U.S. Army's V Corps, nearly 17,000 troops, amidst chaotic logistic nightmares, boarded a convoy of civilian steamers at Tampa, Florida. On June 22 they landed unopposed in the surf at Daiquiri, eighteen miles east of Santiago. Against them stood a regional Spanish

The current American presence in Haiti is only the latest in a decades-long series of interventions undertaken to maintain stability on the island of Hispaniola. At top, troops land artillery on Haiti during the U.S. occupation that extended from 1915 to 1934. In the lower photograph, Marines defend heights in the Dominican Republic during U.S. control over that nation's affairs between 1916 and 1924.

garrison of nearly 34,000 men, with 119,000 more scattered throughout the island. Rear Admiral William Sampson, commanding the North Atlantic Squadron, wanted the Army to capture the Spanish harbor forts, neutralizing the minefields. That done, he could steam into Santiago harbor and destroy the enemy fleet at its moorings. General William

Shafter opted to fight for the city itself.

The dilemma resolved itself in the hard-fought battle for San Juan heights, key to the city. Shafter's dispositions were bad, the Spanish fought very well, and it was hardly the comic opera sometimes depicted. At great personal danger, Theodore Roosevelt *did* lead the advance of the dismounted cavalry up the hill and was a true hero in the fight.

The Spanish naval squadron was doomed. On July 3, obeying suicidal orders to break through the blockade, Admiral Pascual Cervera led his ships on the death ride of the Spanish Navy. In a running fight along the coast, the four armored cruisers and two destroyers were picked off one by one and run aground.

The overwhelming naval victory at Santiago gave the United States strategic

control of the sea. Puerto Rico fell almost without a fight. "An hour or two at Manila," said the Navy's Captain Albert Barker, "an hour or two at Santiago, and the maps of the world were changed." In the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam to the United States, which had now achieved an empire virtually by default.

Pending full independence, Cuba entered the jurisdiction of the U.S. War Department, which established a transitional military government over the island, lasting until May 1902.

When Cuba eventually did get her freedom, it came with heavy baggage. Written into her constitution was a guarantee, the Platt Amendment, giving prior consent to any future American military intervention and agreeing to the sale of

land for a naval base. The United States settled on Guantánamo Bay, which, combined with Puerto Rico, placed an American naval presence on the key waterways providing Atlantic access to the as-yet unbuilt isthmian canal.

U.S. military forces intervened in Cuba again when the island nation lapsed into civil war in 1906; when a black-led "race" rebellion erupted in eastern Cuba in 1912; and in 1917 to arbitrate a stolen election on the eve of the United States entry into World War I.

The United States now possessed an empire stretching from Manila Bay to Guantánamo Bay. "When one half of the Anglo-Saxon race holds the waterway between the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean," observed the *London Spectator*, "what could be more appropriate than the other half should hold that between the Atlantic and the Pacific?"

In Colombia, a civil war between the Conservative government and Liberal rebels had raged since 1899, taking more than 100,000 lives. In November 1901, a Liberal army seized Colón (formerly Aspinwall), prompting a Colom-



Interventions to preserve order in civil-war-ravaged Nicaragua in 1909-10 and 1912 (left) were followed by the U.S. occupation of that Central American nation during 1927-33. In hard-fought actions against Sandinista rebels, U.S. Marines pioneered in the use of air power, including dive-bombing techniques and employment of transports for supply and evacuation (below).



So pervasive was the U.S. military presence in the Caribbean during the Banana-War era that recruiting posters glamorized duty there. This artwork by Sidney Reisenberg, dating from 1913, depicts battleships and Marines enforcing American strategic interests on an unidentified tropical shore.

bian request for American intervention. Although the U.S. Navy had dispatched vessels to Colón, at first the United States declined to become directly involved. It made no difference which faction or party controlled the isthmus, as long as the trains moved. But when British and French warships arrived, the Navy Department ordered ashore a landing force of three hundred Marines and sailors from the battleship *Iowa* and gunboat *Marietta*. Officers of the three navies parleyed the surrender of the Liberals, and by mid-December conditions returned to normal.

The United States, meanwhile, had become actively involved in obtaining a “canal zone” for the inevitable project. The problem was that the builder’s concession and most of the railroad shares were owned by the French New Panama Canal Company, which had to be bought out. Further, the Colombian government had to be convinced to surrender a degree of zonal sovereignty. The U.S. Congress would not permit these matters to drag on interminably. If sale and agreement were not reached within reasonable times, the United States would transfer its canal project to Nicaragua, which offered several distinct geographical advantages.

In 1902—simultaneous with the delicate negotiations—the line of transit was threatened when two thousand ragged government soldiers surrendered to an equally tatterdemalion Liberal host. The trains ceased to run. President Theodore Roosevelt and the Navy Department ordered naval forces forward. In mid-September, the cruiser *Cincinnati*’s landing force took over railroad security. On the Pacific side, the battleship *Wisconsin*, flagship of Rear Admiral Silas Casey’s Pacific Squadron, joined the ancient gunboat *Ranger*. And from Philadelphia and Norfolk steamed transports carrying nearly one thousand Marines “and the necessary color guard.” They immediately mounted guard on the trains and



HISTORY AND MUSEUMS DIVISION, UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS HISTORICAL CENTER

took control of the line of transit, brushing away some angry Liberal gestures.

In Colombia, the Conservative government forces soon defeated the Liberals in the field, enabling eight thousand bedraggled scarecrows to be sent to Panama. When Admiral Casey considered their numbers sufficient to maintain security, he began withdrawing U.S. troops.

During the winter and spring of 1903 the continuing negotiations between the

United States and Colombia over the canal treaty ruptured and collapsed over the issue of increased American payments, something the Roosevelt administration considered “contemptible” extortion. There was fear in Colombian circles that the United States might simply seize the isthmus and dictate its own terms. Graver still was the scenario predicted by the Colombian minister in *continued on page 67*

REACHING 100

THE EDITOR'S MOTHER MARKS HER ONE-HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY THIS MONTH, JOINING THE NATION'S GROWING NUMBER OF CENTENARIANS WHO REPRESENT OUR LAST LIVING CONNECTION WITH THE VASTLY DIFFERENT WORLD EXISTING AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.



Two views from a century: eighteen-year-old Emma Jackson in her high-school graduation portrait (left), and Emma Jackson Holm in her nineties (right), before a broken leg and other infirmities restricted her mobility.

For the majority of Americans today, Psalm 90's lamentation applies: "The length of our days is seventy years—or eighty, if we have the strength." For a small but growing percentage of the population, however, the appointed span extends not to eighty years, or even ninety, but to one hundred and beyond. By his or her very survival, each of the nation's estimated forty-nine-thousand centenarians has earned a small but perceptible place in history—providing younger listeners with links of memory to the mosaic that is the American past.



Finnish immigrants Johan Niemela and Sophia Junttila (above) married in San Francisco in 1880; they settled in Astoria, Oregon, where Niemela changed his name to John Jackson. The earliest photo of the Jacksons' daughter Emma (seen fourth from left, above right) depicts a performance of "Peek-a-boo" at the Finnish Lutheran women's bazaar in Astoria's Suomi Hall.

EACH CENTENARIAN in America today harbors unique personal insights into some aspect of our now-vanished past; for Emma Holm those recollections are a replay of sorts of the 1944 play *I Remember Mama*—but with Finnish instead of Norwegian players. As she reaches back through threads of memory to the people and events that shaped her early life nearly one hundred years ago, Emma's words reflect respect for her immigrant parents who, while raising a large and close-knit family, made the most of the

opportunities that hard work could provide. Her family's experiences parallel those of millions of others who reached for their dreams in the Golden Land.

"My dad said that he never wanted to go back to Finland because he had known nothing but hunger and want there," says Emma of Johan Niemela, who, to escape famine, went to sea as a teenager during the 1860s. Serving aboard English merchant ships for a dozen years, Johan learned the trade of sailmaker, became fluent in English, and circled the globe several times.

In 1875 Niemela dropped his anchor in San Francisco. There he encountered John Junttila, a boyhood friend from Finland. The meeting was to prove pivotal to Johan's future, for Junttila in due course sent money home to pay his sister Sophia's passage to America. She arrived at Castle Garden in 1879, and crossed the country by immigrant train the same summer that Robert Louis

Stevenson rode one of the cars and nearly died from the experience. In San Francisco John introduced his sister to his sailor friend, and the two fell in love.

Thirty-two-year-old Johan and twenty-year-old Sophia were married in August 1880. That same year they moved to the still-raw fishing town of Astoria, Oregon, on the bank of the Columbia River [see pages 42-51]. The choice was not an instant one. "Dad had been to Australia," says Emma, "and he liked Sydney very much. At first he and Sophia thought they might go to Australia; then they heard that fishing was good in Astoria, and Dad decided that was a good way to make a living."

By 1883 Niemela had literally carved a home out of the wilderness, clearing a lot in what would later be known as "Uppertown" and building a house. He furthermore had not only become one of the growing number of fishermen on the Columbia but had set up a business as a sailmaker—catching salmon during the summer and sewing canvas during





8th grade

the winter months. He had also by this time changed his name to John Jackson: "When Dad went into business as a sailmaker, well, Niemela was just an odd name for the Americans to remember, so he took the adopted name of Jackson," Emma explains. "Most of the Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish people did that."

Large families were almost the rule a century ago: between 1881 and 1904 John and Sophia had thirteen children. "Everyone was born at home in those days," Emma says. "They had midwives. Mrs. Thompson never lost a mother. If they had a doctor instead, so many of the women died."

Infant mortality was high in any case. Three of the Jackson's children did not live past infancy. One of boys also died, at age seventeen, from peritonitis.

Some of Emma's earliest memories are of playing "run ship run" and "around the block" with what seemed to be legions of children that filled the neighborhood. "There were kids all over the place in those days . . . no one worried

about birth control." At twilight the youngsters watched with fascination as the lamplighter moved from gaslight to gaslight along the plank streets. All had to be in by nine, however: "There was a curfew and the policemen would make the rounds to see that you were home."

Parents did not indulge their children then as we do today. "I remember only one birthday party. My sister Lily made crepe-paper roses for everybody, and I got an ABC book. That was the only party I ever had, and the only birthday gift I received. People didn't have the money."

Family conversations followed a pattern that has probably been typical of

Large families were common in the nineteenth century: John and Sophia Jackson had thirteen children. Emma stands behind her mother in a view (above left) that includes all nine surviving offspring. Above: Emma's eighth-grade graduation portrait.

generations of first- and second-generation Americans: "We kids spoke English of course, but when talking to Mom and Dad we used Finnish. Mom learned to speak English from us, and then she went to night school and learned how to write it, too."

John Jackson's sailmaking business in-

involved nearly every member of the family. "Mother did most of the machine work, sewing the sails together, and Dad did all of the hand work, including the sewing of ropes along the edges. His patterns for the sails [marked out on the floor] were in the loft of a net warehouse at the foot of the hill, and we would go down there and help him lay down the canvas. For the hand work, he had a leather and metal guard [sailor's palm] that he would put on like a glove. He used these three-cornered needles, and we had to thread them and wax them with beeswax so that they would go through the canvas. I can just see him using the needle and pressing it on the metal thing on the palm of his hand." Jackson earned a high reputation for the quality of his sails, and he had customers among the canneries both on the Columbia and in Alaska. During some seasons he used as much as six thousand yards of duck cloth.

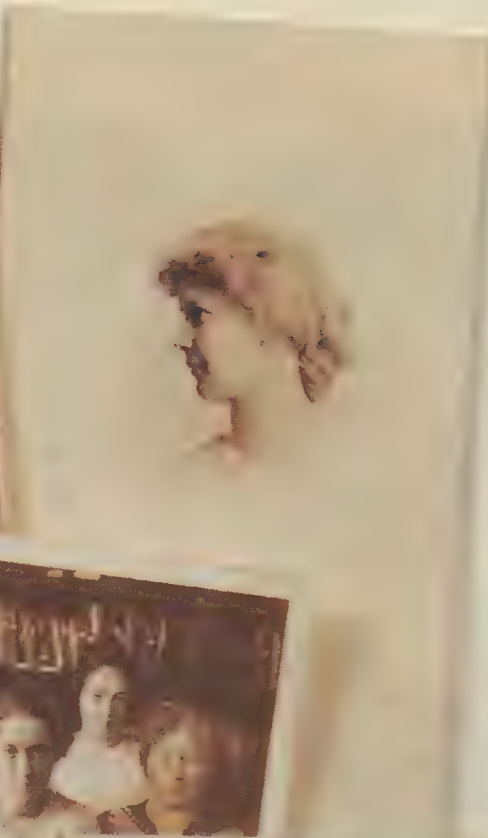
Much of the Jackson family's life centered around the church: "The parents had prayer meeting once a month at the different homes, and then there was the Lady's Aid that Mother belonged to, and they'd have a church picnic once a year."

"Mother didn't like to go to lodge meetings," Emma adds, "but Dad used to go to the Finnish Brotherhood—it was an organization that looked after the sick and buried the dead."

In a place and time when a high-school education was just becoming attainable, John and Sophia Jackson managed the quite remarkable achievement of securing an advanced education for all nine of their children. When Emma graduated from high school in 1913, the family faced a situation common today—a shortage of funds. With an older brother and sister still in college, Emma had to wait a year before taking her turn.

In 1914 Emma entered the teacher's

From student to mother in seven views: a summer job at Mrs. Cameron's ice cream parlor; Emma's graduation picture from Bellingham Normal School; Emma and the other teachers at her first school; an evening by the fire with beau Wendell Holm; Wendell about to leave for France during World War I; a visit back to school with her firstborn; on the river that served as the highway.



program at Bellingham Normal School in Washington State. "My folks decided that Anna, Martha, and I would be teachers—and we became teachers. They decided that. There was almost no other profession then for women. You just were a nurse or a stenographer or a teacher." (Emma's eldest sister Lily had become a nurse already.)

"At that time the teacher's program was a two-year course. If you taught for three years, you got a life certificate."

Emma's first teaching job was in a small and relatively isolated logging town called Naselle, nestled between the hills a few miles north of the Columbia. There, that first fall, she met a logger and fish-buyer named Wendell Holm. By 1918 the two were engaged, but in the meantime a war had intervened. Wendell was sent to Europe as a private in the Army; Emma moved back home to Astoria to teach and await her beau's return.

Wendell, wounded in July 1918, later served with the army of occupation and did not return for two years. He and Emma were finally married on Christmas eve, 1920. "We had to get permission from the superintendent of schools to get married," Emma relates, "so that I would be allowed to complete the school year. At that point my contract was forfeited." In 1920 a married woman was not allowed to be a schoolteacher.

Moving to Naselle to join her husband, Emma devoted the next twenty-one years to homemaking and raising the couple's two daughters and two sons. Then another war intervened—and the school boards, which had maintained their prohibition against married women teachers right into the 1940s, finally had to change their stand as male teachers were swept up by the draft. Emma and several other married women were rehired—"but when we applied, the school board said that as soon as the war was over we would have to give up our jobs. We weren't paid as much as the men either; the head of the board told us that we weren't the breadwinners."

As things turned out, Emma didn't give up her job at war's end—her second career as a teacher continued for nineteen years, until retirement age in 1961. And she didn't stop teaching then, either. Called back as a substitute for season after season, she remained active for

thirteen more years. By the time she finally quit at age seventy-nine, Emma had taught children from almost every family in the valley—two generations in many cases and three in several.

As she has grown older with the century, Emma, like others of her generation, has benefited not only from advances in science but also through social programs that were undreamed of by her parents. After her husband's death in 1966 and her departure from teaching in 1974, Emma was able to continue supporting herself through social security disbursements and a teacher's pension—benefits never thought of a century ago. Cataract operations restored Emma's fading sight during her seventies; when cancer struck in her eighties, chemotherapy effected a complete cure; and modern surgical techniques restored a broken hip during her nineties.

"I'll go on living for as long as I can paddle my own canoe," Emma stated on her ninety-fourth birthday, when she still maintained her independence in her own home. "My life has been very short in a way," she philosophized. "But when you think ninety-four years ahead, I wonder what the world will be like?"

During her later nineties, a stroke and fading strength led to periods of rehabilitation in rest homes and, finally, to full-time residence in a care center back in the town of her birth. Now Emma shares a room with Pearl, a delightful lady of only ninety-four, who watches out carefully for her welfare.

People who have studied centenarians find them to be a remarkably diverse group, having little more in common than their venerable age. All do, however, seem to share a resilient inner strength. In Emma's case, that might be defined as *sisu*, the quality of stubborn determination that Finns and Finnish-Americans like to claim as an ethnic trait.

Now, as the century-mark approaches, the daily business of life has become more of a struggle in the face of combined infirmities. "Time slips by," Emma said with a sigh that seemed to take the very breath from her lungs, during a recent visit from her East-coast sons. "I never expected to grow so old."

Then the *sisu* that had carried her so far regained the upper hand: "Tell your families that I'm still kicking." ★

CENTENARIANS

A male born in America 100 years ago had an average life expectancy of about 32 years.

A female born in America 100 years ago had an average life expectancy of about 35 years.

According to Bureau of the Census studies, today about 49,000 people in the United States are 100 years or older.

A white male born in America today has an average life expectancy of 72.9 years; a black male 64.6 years.

A white female born in America today has an average life expectancy of 79.6 years; a black female 73.8 years.

Life expectancies continue to increase so dramatically that by the year 2000 there will be about 75,000 centenarians in the U.S.

If current trends continue, by the year 2050 there will be about 1,208,000 centenarians in the U.S.

For a collection of beautiful portraits and biographical essays celebrating the dignity and richness of life that can be enjoyed at 100 or more, see *One Hundred Over 100: Moments with One Hundred North American Centenarians* by Jim Heynen with photographs by Paul Boyer (Fulcrum Publishing, Golden, Colorado; 1990).

For statistical information on people over 100, see *America's Centenarians* (Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 153, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987). ★

FISHING TOWN

BY LIISA PENNER 100 YEARS AGO MUCH OF AMERICA WAS JUST EMERGING FROM THE ROUGH-HEWN FRONTIER. A TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY GLIMPSE AT ONE COMMUNITY—HISTORIC ASTORIA, OREGON—SUGGESTS HOW MUCH OUR WORLD HAS CHANGED WITHIN THE SPAN OF ONE LIFETIME.



program at Bellingham Normal School in Washington State. "My folks decided that Anna, Martha, and I would be teachers—and we became teachers. They decided that. There was almost no other profession then for women. You just were a nurse or a stenographer or a teacher." (Emma's eldest sister Lily had become a nurse already.)

"At that time the teacher's program was a two-year course. If you taught for three years, you got a life certificate."

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IT WAS THE RIVER that brought employment—and in a few instances, prosperity—to the residents of the old fishing town of Astoria, Oregon, near the mouth of the Columbia River. Wealthy cannery owners, bar pilots, and ship captains built ornate houses on the hillside townsite that faces north toward the Washington shore. Some of those homes and many other less-pretentious ones have survived more than a hundred winters of wild winds and rains sweeping in from the Pacific Ocean. Now, with a new appreciation of Victorian architecture, the owners of these houses are restoring them to their former glory. So successful have they been that photographs taken today look much like those made a century ago. But while Astoria may appear now about as it did then, life—and death—for Astorians is very different from what it was in 1895.

The reality then was that the odds for

living out a full and healthy life were not very favorable. Infant mortality was perhaps twenty times today's rate, and doctors often stood helplessly by as children succumbed to contagious diseases that today are practically extinct or rarely fatal. Cholera morbus (acute gastroenteritis), typhoid fever, consumption (tuberculosis), pneumonia, membranous croup, diphtheria, measles, and whooping cough are only a few of the diseases listed in records as the cause of death for children buried in the little cemetery at the top of Astoria's hill. "Only one short year ago, our first-born son was laid to rest and now our second darling follows to join with him among the blest," reads one memorial notice in a newspaper.

Heart disease was common among both children and adults, principally due

Astoria, Oregon—birthplace and childhood home of the editor's centenarian mother (pages 36-41)—still bears a startling resemblance to this turn-of-the-century view. Only the square-riggers at the docks and the absence of the four-mile-long bridge that today spans the Columbia provide evidence that the photograph is not a contemporary one. Astoria and the surrounding region figure prominently in Northwest history. Until finally entered by Captain Robert Gray in 1792, the Columbia had long eluded explorers as the legendary "River of the West." Meriwether Lewis and William Clark established their winter quarters near Astoria in 1805-06; and in 1811 New York capitalist John Jacob Astor established a fur-trading post on the future site of the town, allowing Astorians to lay claim to occupying the oldest permanent American settlement west of the Rockies.



The sea, the river, and the lush green hills provided turn-of-the-century Oregonians with channels of commerce and a wealth of natural resources. Sailing vessels could still be seen on the Columbia during the early decades of the twentieth century; a huge wave (right) towers over the tug "Goliath," towing the bark "Colonel de Villebois Mareuil" across the treacherous Columbia River bar in 1912. As the salmon-canning capital of the world, Astoria annually processed hundreds of thousands of cases of fish (below). By the mid-1890s, however, this seemingly-inexhaustible resource was already in decline from overfishing. The region's timber resources, too, had at first appeared limitless: early loggers teetering on springboards (opposite) discarded the less-than-perfect wood at the base of the trees and harvested only the prime, straight-grained material higher up.



NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, SAN FRANCISCO



OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PORTLAND

to diseases that damaged the vital organs, but also because of the physical stresses that people had to endure during long hours of hard work. And, most people lived on an unhealthy diet that was high in fats and salt (the latter being given liberal use as a preservative).

There were no fatalities from automobiles in Astoria in those days (the first horseless carriage did not arrive in Oregon until 1899). But there were deaths relating to horses. Little things, like a falling leaf, could startle a horse, and the rider would suddenly be in for the experience of his life. Occasionally, horses and loaded wagons backed up a bit too far at the end of the docks that comprised most of the commercial district and fell into the river, taking the driver with them.

Drowning, in fact, was the most common cause of accidental death in Astoria during the 1890s. About half of the early residents buried at Hillside cemetery perished in the dark waters of the river below. Most were fishermen; a few were patrons of whiskey scows that continued to operate on the river into the 1890s. Notices in the paper also warned of rotten planking on the docks and places where there was no railing to prevent one from stumbling over the edge at night. One drowning occurred when the occupant of an outhouse on the docks fell through the rotten flooring.

Today drownings are rare because the river is practically deserted. Merchant ships now glide silently across the bar and up to Portland, then return, rarely stopping here. Steamboats that once carried traffic across the river or to points upriver have been replaced by automobiles, highways, and bridges. Most fishermen and their boats have disappeared along with most of the fish. The river is no longer the main roadway.

A century ago the population of Astoria numbered about nine thousand; two thousand more packed boarding houses during the spring and summer fishing season. An 1894 newspaper article noted that there were thirteen canneries in Astoria and twenty-two more nearby, all processing an enormous amount of fish. The town was also the site of two sawmills, two box factories, a barrel and tub factory, a hemlock tannery, and the Pacific Can factory.



COLLECTION OF ED HOLM

In 1895 the normal working schedule for most wage-earners in Astoria was ten hours per day, six days per week. There were no minimum-wage laws, no paid vacations, no medical plans, no unemployment compensation, no social security, no retirement programs, and no widow's pensions. Sick or well, anyone who wanted to eat had to work.

Hourly wages of ten to twenty cents, weekly salaries of \$6 to \$12, and annual incomes of \$300 to \$600 may seem astonishingly low by today's standards, but the comparative cost of goods in these pre-inflation days must also be taken into account. (In 1895 an average American family of four spent about \$250 annually for food and \$100 for housing.) Some items and their retail prices advertised in Astoria during that same year were: soap, 5 cents; wine, 40 cents a gallon; cigars, five for 10 cents; cuspidors, 8 cents; corsets, 75 cents; a beer and a sandwich, 15 cents; haircuts, 15 cents; "two-bit" shaves, 15 cents; bread, 5 cents; red flannel XXX California shirt or drawers, 95 cents; plain black rubber coat, \$1.50; and a #21 Scorchers bicycle, \$85. Hillside lots, fifty by one hundred feet, complete with a good house, were offered for \$1,500 each, with \$500 down and the rest on balance.

Professional career opportunities for women in Astoria and elsewhere one hundred years ago were limited to a handful of choices, the most common being nursing and teaching. Astoria women did find employment as housekeepers, boarding house operators, seamstresses (twenty-four were listed in the 1893-94 city directory), restaurant proprietors, telephone operators, music teachers, milliners, and in one case, as an umbrella repairer.*

Fishermen could make a lot of money in a short time, but keeping it could be difficult. A whole industry had arisen for the purpose of taking money from fishermen, loggers, and sailors. Reverend Bushong of the Methodist Church preached during the 1890s about a five-block area near the waterfront that he

called "the burnt region" and others called "Swilltown," "Swinetown," "the badlands," and "the court of death." Astoria was deservedly known as one of the wickedest—and most dangerous—seaports on the West Coast. Larry Sullivan was the political boss of Swilltown in the 1890s. He, along with Bunco Kelly and Paddy Lynch (all three had been charged with murder at one time or another) worked as runners, supplying crews to the captains of outgoing merchant vessels—whether the men were willing to go to sea or not.* Sailors and farm boys, some just drunk and others the victims of knockout drops, were lowered into boats through trapdoors in the backrooms of riverside saloons and later woke up to their predicament on their way across the Pacific. The bodies of those who resisted being shanghaied often washed onto the riverbank or ocean shore days later. One resident reported that when he walked on the docks at night, he kept his hand on his gun and his face turned toward anyone who passed him—and he could see that the one who passed him did the same.

August Erickson's Louvre Saloon on Astor Street, in the heart of the burnt district, opened in March 1895 to a ringing endorsement printed in the *Astoria Daily Budget*: "It is without exception, the finest saloon in Astoria and will compare favorably with any resort in Oregon." It was later reported that chandeliers added on the main floor the following year cost \$1,500 each. Entertainment of all kinds was provided, from music to gaming tables to girls in the rooms upstairs.

The religious element in Astoria had already fought for forty years to close down the saloons and dance halls, without the least effect. Reverend Bushong was undaunted. In 1894 he claimed that there were forty licensed saloons in Astoria, and at least nine gambling places that were well-known to the officers of the city. They were "pulled" once a month by the police and fined \$25 each, then left to run unmolested. Mrs. Narcissa White Kinney's efforts to help Reverend Bushong get the licenses revoked were derided by the editor of the *Budget*, who

As in other coastal, river, and lake regions of the United States, pre-automobile Astoria depended heavily on water transportation: at right the "T.J. Potter," a well-known sidewheel steamer on the daily Portland-Astoria run, exchanges passengers at a Washington-shore waypoint. But America's most important means of transport was its vast network of railroads. Astoria suffered until nearly the end of the century from not having a rail link with the outside world; residents blamed Portland businessmen who did not want competition. Thousands of celebrants turned out when the first train to Portland left the Astoria depot on May 16, 1898 (below).



OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PORTLAND

*Females did not share equal opportunities with men in other ways in 1895; most significantly, American women (except those in Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, and Colorado) did not yet possess the right to vote. For Oregonians, that right would be granted in 1912—eight years before nationwide ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment.

*One of Astoria's most notorious shanghaied operations was overseen by a woman who operated a seaman's boarding house; her husky sons ran a riverside saloon and worked as runners. Her daughters provided a show of respectability; all three were schoolteachers.

COLUMBIA RIVER MARITIME MUSEUM, ASTORIA, OREGON.





CLATSOP COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ASTORIA, OREGON.

Canned goods were predominant among preprocessed foods at grocers a century ago, as this view in the A.V. Allen store (top) illustrates. The first graduation from a public high school in Astoria (center) took place in 1893. Life for immigrant families just a few miles out of town was probably little-changed from that in the old country; a Clatsop County farm wife (bottom) performs her weekly laundry chores in front of the family "sauna" (Finnish steam bath.)



CLATSOP COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ASTORIA, OREGON.

said "These foolish women . . . would better serve the city and their families if they would stay at home and not be meddling with the business of other people. If there is anything out of place, it is a woman in pants, man's pants."

Shanghaiing disappeared during the first decade of the new century, but gambling halls and bawdy houses survived on the waterfront for several decades more. They continued to exist because the city depended on the license fees to pay the salaries of officials and to fund city services. (In 1895, liquor-license fees—\$15,200—made up more than one third of the total receipts taken in that year by the City of Astoria.) It was also claimed that the owners of the property in the burnt district held positions on the Astoria City Council and were protecting their interests. On December 5, 1894, the *Budget* reported that "the moral wave must have struck Councilman O'Hara last night. He introduced an ordinance to suppress bawdy houses, and fixing the penalty for being found in such places at a fine of from \$20 to \$300. At that rate it would be necessary for one or two of the officials to have their salaries raised to about \$900 per day—three visits."

Charges leveled between the editors of the town's two leading newspapers—the *Astoria Daily Budget* and *Daily Morning Astorian*—seem preposterous today. The editors seem not to have been constrained by libel laws. At election time the epithets flew. Charges of corruption were common; some were based on fact. Sheriff H.A. Smith absconded to Belgium with the county's tax receipts in 1895. He later returned—and little was said except by his political opponents.



OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PORTLAND.

The two-thousand-plus fishermen on the river were more concerned about the

price for fish than about what happened to the money after they were paid. At a meeting in April 1895, those attending a Columbia River Fishermen's Union meeting decided the price received from canneries should be no less than five cents a pound for Chinook Salmon. Serious disagreements with the cannery operators over price during the next year culminated in a strike. The cannery operators had government officials call in the National Guard to break the strike. The strikers lost, but they got even. They pooled their resources and formed their own cannery, the Union Fishermen's Co-operative Cannery, which was successful for many years. The majority of the stockholders were Finns.

Parties of Finns began arriving on the lower Columbia River in 1873, seven years after the first cannery was built there. They found employment fishing for the canneries that quickly multiplied on both sides of the river. By 1910, Finns made up the largest ethnic group in Astoria, with Norwegians trailing behind in second place. They were followed by Swedes, Germans, Canadians, English, Danes, Irish, Austrians, Greeks, and Swiss.

The survey from which this information was taken did not mention the Chinese, who at one time were one of the largest ethnic groups in Astoria. (In 1880 more than 2,300 were residents of Clatsop County.) The newspapers never seemed to grumble about the Finns taking most of the work, but they did complain bitterly from the early 1870s through the 1890s about the Chinese. The editor of the *Budget* advised "Quit talking railroad, quit patronizing the U.P. [Union Pacific], knock out fish traps, drive out the Chinamen, elect clean men to the county offices, and Astoria will be all right."

Because work was not easy to find in 1895, a water commission scheme for creating jobs was looked upon favorably by Astorians. The antiquated water system, dating from the 1870s, needed to be replaced. The scheme to subsidize new jobs backfired when the contract was won by a Portland firm which brought in Italian workers willing to accept \$1.50-per-day wages. Astorians were outraged. No one can live decently for less than \$2 a day, they said. A campaign to void the contract failed. One of the major contrac-

tors ran into trouble when his funding collapsed, leaving hungry, homeless Italians threatening violence. Eventually the work was completed.

The town had other public services already. Astoria's gaslight company was incorporated in 1882. A telephone exchange was established in 1884. Electricity, produced by a sawmill, began serving customers in December 1885.

Until the 1890s, most young Astorians were limited to an eighth-grade education. Finally, in 1893 the first students completed their course of study at the public high school that had been completed four years earlier. Momentum was slow at first: only three graduated that year and the next, and four in 1895. (The contents of report cards in those days was no private affair—the grades of each schoolchild were reported in the newspapers.)

The lack of decent roads out of Astoria (in 1895 there were virtually no paved country roads *anywhere* in the United States) and the absence of railroad service meant that residents had to travel out of the city by boat. Steamers left twice a day for Portland, charging \$1.25 for the eighty-mile voyage up the Columbia and Willamette Rivers or \$2 for the round-trip.

Astorians had worked to incorporate railroad companies as far back as the 1850s. They had made plans for subsidies, and they poured money and labor into the projects. All had failed because, they charged, influential Portland businessmen did not want competition from Astoria.

By 1895 the most likely candidate to bring the railroad into Astoria appeared to be entrepreneur A.B. Hammond. Each day the *Budget* seized on his latest words and actions. Would he bring the railroad and prosperity to Astoria? The March 29th, 1895 edition rejoiced, "It's a Settled Thing This time." Three days later, *Budget* headlines claimed, "Another Failure—the Astoria-Gobel Railroad a Fizzle. Hammond & Stanton Depart in Disgust: They Say the Weather is Too Wet for their Delicate Constitutions." But at the end of the article the editor reminded his shocked and angry readers that it was April Fool's Day—and that they were the biggest fools of all.

The day in 1898 when railroad service

was finally inaugurated probably went down as the most joyous day in the history of Astoria. Thousands gathered to celebrate the departure of the first train to Portland. Today, there are some who have fond memories of railroad travel from Astoria, but they are few; passenger service was suspended years ago.

Within Astoria and for a short distance outside of town, transportation was by foot and by horse. Livery stables at various points supplied feed, water, and shelter for horses, but most families could not afford to keep them.

In 1888, the Astoria Street Railway Company began operation. For the first four years, before the trolley cars were electrified, horses provided the motive power. Bus service finally replaced the line in 1924.

Although lacking the array of entertainment media that inundates us today, Astoria nevertheless offered the public lively amusements. At the Casino in 1895, vaudeville fans could see "Oofy Goofy, the Great"; Juanita and Minnette in their "Wondrous Serpentine Dance"; and Billy Morris' laughable farce "Tit for Tat." (Customers were promised three hours of fun for 25 cents.) The Casino sometimes also hosted boxing matches. Astoria fielded amateur football and baseball teams, and, as elsewhere in the United States, townspeople indulged in a cycling craze during the 1890s.

Churches of every denomination, many serving a single ethnic and language group, offered social as well as spiritual support to their members through fellowship, musicales, and basket socials.

Suomi Hall was built in 1893 by the Finnish Temperance Society to provide an alternative to the saloons. The Finnish Brotherhood and other ethnic groups such as the Sons of Herman and Scandinavian Benevolent Society also played social roles, though they were primarily benevolent organizations, providing insurance money for the sick and coffins for those who died. Nationally affiliated social clubs abounded: the Elks, Knights of Pythias, Improved Order of Red Men, and Masonic lodges.

The most popular entertainment event each year was the Astoria Regatta. The first one took place in August 1894. Annually thereafter the streets were crowded with thousands of people who came





Stepping into the twentieth century, a brass band supplies martial music for bluejackets and Marines from the warships "Concord" and "Marblehead" in the 1903 Astoria Regatta parade. As participants in the Spanish-American War five years previously, the two vessels and their crews had been instrumental in making the United States a world power; frequent and enthusiastic cries of "The Men Behind the Guns!" emanated from the crowd lining the parade route.

to watch the boat races, the foot races, the fire department's hose race, the life-saving drill, and (beginning in 1897) the crowning of a Regatta Queen. Cannery operators ran from dock to dock to follow the progress of the boats representing their canneries, while a band on the *Manzanita* played the "Bohemian March," "Sidewalks of New York," and "Anvil Polka." Today the Regatta parade continues to draw visitors from all over the state—rivaled only by the much younger Scandinavian Festival.

Now, as Astoria approaches the twenty-first century, new efforts are being made to revive the city's role in the fishing, shipping, and lumber industries. An appreciation of history, however, is what brings prosperity—through nearly one hundred thousand tourists a year—to the area. More than a dozen museums and historic sites commemorate the region's rich past. Fort Clatsop National Memorial, for example, re-creates the 1805-06 winter quarters of the Lewis and Clark expedition; the Heritage Museum recalls the fur traders and settlers who made Astoria the oldest continuous American settlement west of the Rockies; Fort Stevens honors the artillerymen who guarded the river's mouth from 1864 through World War II; and the Maritime Museum preserves the history of shipping and fishing on the Columbia.

Life for residents of 1890s Astoria was shorter and more demanding than it is for most of us today. It was also in many ways simpler, and people had fewer luxuries and lower expectations than our consumer-oriented, often self-indulgent society. Were the hard-working people of that bygone day less contented than we are? Or could they possibly have been happier? We can only guess. ★

Liisa Penner is editor of Cumtux, the Clatsop County, Oregon, Historical Society's quarterly.

OUR GREATEST LAND BATTLE



BY EDWARD OXFORD FIFTY YEARS AGO, AMID THE SNOW, BLOOD, AND DEATH OF BELGIUM'S ARDENNES FOREST, 600,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS DEFEATED A HALF-MILLION GERMANS IN THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE—THE LARGEST ENGAGEMENT INVOLVING THE U.S. ARMY IN WORLD WAR II.



AMERICAN SOLDIERS manning an eighty-five-mile stretch of rugged, heavily wooded countryside along the Belgian-Luxembourg-German border were jolted awake in the predawn hours of December 16, 1944, by the thunder of mortar, rocket, and artillery fire. When the barrage finally ended, the Americans peered from their foxholes to see strange lights playing against the low-hanging clouds and reflecting onto the forest floor to reveal ghostly figures advancing among the trees. The bewildered GIs didn't know what to make of it.

The Americans were holding the northern sector of a five-hundred-mile line that extended across France and Belgium all the way from the Swiss border to the North Sea. During the six months since the Allied invasion of Normandy, they had driven east in an effort to push the German Army across the Rhine and establish a foothold on the far side of the river. The Allies had been stopped short of their objective and suffered significant losses, especially in the bloody, hard-fought offensive of the Hürtgen Forest, but they had inflicted an even higher toll on the enemy.

As the Americans paused just short of Germany's vaunted West Wall—also known as the Siegfried Line—to rest their battle-worn veterans and train newcomers, they did not suspect that the enemy was capable of anything but defensive action. For days, and in many

cases weeks, more than eighty thousand soldiers of the 14th Cavalry Group, the 9th Armored Division, and four U.S. infantry divisions—the 4th, 28th, 99th, and 106th—had marked time along the mist-ridden battlefield.

During these pre-Christmas days, all seemed relatively secure. Film star Marlene Dietrich, heading a USO troupe, performed to the raucous applause of GIs. Numbers of men wangled three-day passes to Paris. One soldier wrote home: "As long as I stay where I am now, I'll be safe."

But, in the half-light of that Saturday's dawn, the enemy soldiers advancing in the reflected glow of searchlights were very much alive and threatening. U.S. rifleman Bernard Macay saw "hundreds of Germans against the skyline as they came over the hill, right at us." American troops on the front lines opened up with rifle, machine-gun, and mortar fire. Their first response, though earnest, was sporadic, uncoordinated, and confused. Almost incredibly, spearheads of German Führer Adolf Hitler's "beaten" German Army were thrusting into U.S. lines.

The Battle of the Bulge, with fire and fury, had begun.

Somehow, in the heart of Ardennes darkness, Hitler had discerned a glimmer of hope. Just as Allied commanders judged the rugged countryside unsuitable for an attack route into Germany, so

also did they disregard it as a likely approach for an enemy counteroffensive.

In the fifth year of devastating war, Hitler's "Thousand-Year" Third Reich was under siege. The Germans had fought hard, but Allied troops, quite like their leaders, felt a sense of momentum as they moved relentlessly through France and the Low Countries toward the Rhine. On the Eastern Front, Russian forces hammered the Germans with equal fury. By day and by night, air raids continued to turn the Fatherland's cities and factories into ruins. German ground forces had by this time suffered more than four million casualties, nearly half of them in the summer of 1944. Yet even an attempt on his life by his own officers in July had failed to break the Führer's determination to continue the war.

Refusing to listen to his military advisors, Hitler decided to draw upon the best of his remaining men and matériel in a do-or-die attempt to turn back the Allied onslaught. Under the cover of mist and snow, German forces would strike through a weak sector on the Allied front in the Ardennes, cross the Meuse River sixty miles to the West, and press on another sixty miles to capture the vital Channel port of Antwerp. They would, thereby, split the American and British forces—and their alliance as well—infllicting so many losses that, conceivably, the Allies would sue for peace.

There was a grim, if fatalistic, logic to Hitler's plan. Unconditional surrender was unthinkable, and Germany could not survive by fighting a defensive war. The one route left was through the Ardennes. As a German adage put the choice: "Better an end in horror than a horror without end."

During the three months since Hitler revealed his scheme, the Germans east of the Ardennes had moved with remarkable stealth to ready thirty assault divisions. Although they fell short of that goal by two divisions, they had moved some 300,000 men, 1,900 artillery pieces, and nearly 1,000 tanks and armored vehicles into place. The operation was deceptively code-named "*Wacht am Rhein*" ("Watch on the Rhine").

Incredibly, the large-scale preparation went barely noticed by Allied intelligence. The Germans had begun to suspect that "Enigma," their code system, might be vulnerable to Allied code-



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PREVIOUS SPREAD: UPI/BETT MANN, NEW YORK CITY



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breakers (which, throughout the war, it was). Hitler therefore directed that orders relating to the crucial Ardennes attack be sent by motorcycle rather than by radio. "Ultra," the Allied intelligence derived from cracking Enigma, dried up in that sector.

U.S. Army historian Hugh M. Cole has called the prelude to the Ardennes action "a gross failure by Allied ground and air intelligence. . . . The Allies had looked in a mirror for the enemy and seen there only the reflection of their own intentions." Bent upon attacking Germany, they did not conceive that the enemy might strike back at them—much as the Germans, attacking at Stalingrad in 1942, had assumed that the Russians could not possibly attack *them*.

The top Allied commanders themselves accepted this analysis. Overconfidence, which led them to accept a paper-thin Ardennes line as a "legitimate risk," was to bring their forces to the brink of catastrophe.

Not until December 12, at Hitler's western command bunker north of Frankfurt, were his lower-echelon officers given the final details of the attack. The Fifth and Sixth SS Panzer Armies would make the main strike into Belgium, while the Seventh Army protected their southern flank. "This battle is to decide whether we shall live or die," the Führer

exhorted his commanders: "I want all my soldiers to fight hard and without pity. . . . The enemy must be beaten—now or never!"

Hitler cannily scheduled the offensive for November to allow bad weather to set in, so as to cloak his ground attack from the view of Allied fighters and bombers. Logistical problems, however, necessitated delaying the assault until mid-December. As Hitler had hoped, at least for the first few days fog did keep the Allied planes grounded.

At 5:30 A.M. on December 16 the German barrage began. The firing continued for more than an hour, aiming for U.S. command posts, communications centers, and encampments. Soon, from out of the gloom, came the German foot-soldiers bathed in the eerie glow of searchlights. Thousands of GIs, many in combat for the first time, battled for their lives. Short of ammunition, without air support, and dazed by the devastating artillery fire, disciplined infantry assaults, and deadly tank attacks, some faltered. But the orders were to "hold fast." "In other words," wrote Sergeant Henry Giles in his diary, "get killed but don't fall back."

In the north, the Sixth SS Panzer Army met unexpected trouble when the untried U.S. 99th Infantry Division offered stiff resistance, at a cost of more than two thousand casualties in the first

Almost incredibly,
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four days of fighting. As the nearby 2nd Division deftly slipped battalions forward through the 99th to burrow into enemy forces, the two groups together formed an unbreakable barrier.

At the southern end of the German assault, the veteran U.S. 4th Infantry Division put up a fierce holding action at the village of Berdorf. Their steadfast refusal to budge held the enemy within two miles of their starting point and blocked their access to any of the main roads through the town.

At the center, however, the Fifth Panzer Army made penetrations with stealth and speed. On the thickly forested Schnee Eifel ridge, Panzer tank forces surrounded two regiments of the green

106th Division, subjecting them for three days to a numbing assault. Promised air-drops of supplies, the beleaguered units attempted to move out on December 18. But the relief drops never materialized. Nearly out of food, water, medical supplies, and ammunition, and facing vastly superior firepower, the regiments crumpled on December 19. In a kind of European "Bataan," seven to eight thousand men—the largest number of Americans ever captured in a single action—were taken prisoner by the Germans.

At his headquarters in Paris, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower pondered the breakthrough. General Omar Bradley, whose command encompassed the Ardennes sector, first thought the assault to be a "spoiling attack" aimed at hindering the planned advance of the U.S. First and Third Armies in the region. Eisenhower, however, sensed major trouble: the massive attack had ominous momentum.

In this time of peril, Eisenhower held just about as much strategic power as Hitler himself did. He had full authority

to put countermeasures into action at once. In a matter of days, he was to pour a quarter of a million men and thousands of tanks and artillery pieces into the Ardennes—a strike-back no other army in history has ever matched.

Concerned by the enormity of the German salient, Eisenhower imposed a news blackout on the battle action. It would be days before Americans on the home front found out what their sons, brothers, and husbands on the battlefield had learned firsthand: the Western Front's biggest ground battle had broken out in the Ardennes.

The Germans had driven a wedge between the First and Ninth U.S. Armies in the North and the Third Army under General George S. Patton in the South. Faced with that emergency, Eisenhower was forced to make the difficult decision to divide General Omar Bradley's command of these armies, giving charge of the First and Ninth Armies to British Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery and leaving Bradley in command of the

Third. Among the American officers it was not a popular decision, but it had the added effect that Eisenhower had hoped for; it brought the British XXX Corps into the fray to back up the troops sent to block key bridges from the German advance.

Eisenhower's strategy overall was to hold the "shoulders" of the penetration—limiting the width of the breakthrough so that he could counterattack the flanks, hem in the Panzer columns so that they could not maneuver, and put a choke-hold on the breakthrough.

As the battle intensified, a dozen units were deployed to hold the northern edge of the salient.* In the very first hours, the 101st Airborne raced by truck through the night to reach Bastogne, a strategic crossroads town with seven paved roads radiating from its center, that lay directly in the path of the Fifth Panzer Army's advance. At the full tide of battle, thirty-two U.S. divisions would take part in the action.

By December 20, the Sixth Panzer Army had advanced only about five miles, but its First Panzer Division had driven forward twenty miles. The Fifth Panzer Army fared well, slashing more than fifteen miles ahead on a wide front and threatening the key crossroads town of Bastogne.

Though German advance forces quickly overran American outposts, with every new mile they found the going tougher. They fell behind their schedule, and—fatefully—their tanks began to run low on fuel.

GIs found themselves in a foot-by-foot fight for hills, villages, and woods. They struggled through mud and rain with their M-1 rifles slung on their shoulders; pockets stuffed with grenades, cigarettes, and candle stubs; sheets of toilet paper tucked inside their helmets. Some stuffed newspapers into their overcoats for warmth. Private Lester Atwell wrote: "Their chapped hands split open, their lips

*These, ranging roughly east to west through the First Army sector commanded by General Courtney Hodges, would include: the 9th, 2nd, 99th, 1st, and 30th Infantry divisions; the 82nd Airborne; the 7th and 3rd Armored; the 75th, 84th, and 83rd Infantry; and the 2nd Armored. General George Patton's Third Army pressed up from the south. Here would be arrayed the 4th, 9th, and 5th Infantry divisions; the 10th Armored, the 80th, and 26th Infantry; the 6th, 4th, 9th, and 11th Armored; the 17th Airborne; and the 87th Infantry.



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cracked, their feet froze. They had colds, frostbite, trench foot, pneumonia. After trudging miles through deep snow, along they came, their faces pinched, astonished, mottled. The young looked old."

Driving captured jeeps, English-speaking German troops wearing U.S. Military Police armbands and GI field jackets and trousers over their uniforms began to infiltrate key road junctions. Many of these dissemblers were German-Americans who had lived in the United States before the war. They misdirected U.S. vehicles, turned signposts the wrong way, and hung red ribbons to signify—falsely—that roads were mined.

Thousands of jumpy GIs played cat-and-mouse with one another as they tried to search out the roving saboteurs. At gunpoint, genuine MPs would ask American soldiers such questions as: "What's the capital of Illinois?" . . . "Who are 'dem Bums?" . . . "What's the name of Roosevelt's dog?" One U.S. general was put under guard when he mistakenly said the Chicago Cubs were an American League team.

Although their masquerade quickly came undone, the impostors managed to set off a scare throughout the American forces. Eighteen of those captured were executed by U.S. firing squads.

Hitler's hopes rode highest on SS Lieutenant Colonel Joachim Peiper, his handpicked choice to spearhead the Panzer drive through the American line. A believer in brutality, Peiper urged his commanders to "fight in the SS spirit."

On Sunday afternoon, December 17, in a field near Malmédy, SS troops under Peiper's command engaged in a particularly heinous episode of *blutrausch*—killing frenzy. They had captured some 130 men of the U.S. 285th Field Artillery Observation Battalion and ordered them into rows, hands above their heads. According to later war-crimes testimony, SS soldiers moved among the prisoners, confiscating their rings, wallets, and cigarettes. A German officer then gave the command: "*Machen alles kaput!*" ("Kill them all!") German troops opened up with machine gun and pistol fire on the helpless Americans. Terrified GIs ran in all directions. Private James Mattera recalls: "SS soldiers came to men who were still alive and they shot them in the head." The

executioners kicked some downed men in their faces, striking others with rifle butts. One man's eyes were gouged out.

Later that day, the unburied, bullet-ridden bodies of eighty-six soldiers were found in the bloodstained field. A few, wounded but still living, survived by pretending to be dead. Forty or so others escaped into the woodlands.

The Malmédy Massacre undoubtedly strengthened the resolve of American soldiers—not just to stop the Germans but to beat them severely on the field of battle.* Gunners hammered at Peiper's tanks. Engineers blew up bridges to thwart his advance. Major Paul J. Solis, commander of an armored infantry detachment sent to defend Stavelot, ignited thousands of gallons of fuel at a gasoline dump to form a barrier against him. By December 21, out of fuel, ammunition, and hope, Peiper ignominiously led eight hundred survivors of his original force of five thousand back toward Germany on foot.

Throughout the Ardennes, U.S. tanks and infantrymen did bitter battle against the more-heavily-armored German Mark IV, Panther, and Tiger tanks. "Our Sherman tanks would lie in wait, and hit those big tanks in the back, where their armor could be pierced," First Sergeant Bill Wagner recalls. "It was the only way to stop them." In only three minutes, tank gunner Gerald Nelson knocked out three enemy tanks with three shots. Private Bernard Michin, firing a bazooka from only ten yards away, hit and destroyed a Tiger; the blast left him blind for eight hours. In a dusk attack, a Sherman commanded by Lieutenant Charles Power set three Panthers afire. Sergeant Settimo Tiberio hunkered low when a Tiger tank rolled right over his foxhole—and lived to tell of it.

Temperatures dipped below freezing, with intermittent snow, hanging mists, and ground fog. GIs went to sleep in overcoats and woke up encased in a film of ice. Water froze in canteens. C-rations became blocks of ice. Corporal Howard Peterson remembers: "To get out of the cold we crawled into a pigpen; soldiers and pigs—we all smelled the same." "It

*This massacre was only one of many confirmed acts of brutality laid at Peiper's feet. All told, he was found responsible for ordering the murder of more than 350 American prisoners of war and 111 Belgian civilians along his line of march.

In one of the worst atrocities of the Western Front, SS troops murdered eighty-six American prisoners of war in a field near Malmédy.

went down near zero one night," recalls infantryman Joseph Kiss. "By dawn I had half a foot of snow on top of me. We were dirty, wet, and tired. I saw some men cry. The Germans would yell at us to give up. But we never did." Sergeant Nat Youngblood tells of a twelve-year-old Belgian farm girl, scarved and bundled, plodding through snowdrifts to bring hot coffee to U.S. soldiers burrowed in foxholes. "I'll never forget her young face. 'Good morning,' she said to me. 'Coffee, sir?'"

For days, furious action centered around Bastogne. Here troopers of the 101st Airborne Division, along with soldiers from other units, formed an island of Americans in a sea of Germans. The 18,000 defenders fought in every direction at once, holding a sixteen-mile perimeter against more than twice their number. In relentless waves, German tanks and troops strove to smash into "the hole in the doughnut."

U.S. field guns dropped a "dam of fire" around the perimeter. Mud slowed and just about stopped the advancing tanks. As German infantry ran forward shouting, the Americans cut them down. The attackers kept on coming, climbing over bodies of their comrades before being killed themselves.

Midday on December 22, Brigadier General Anthony McAuliffe, commander of the besieged 101st, received an ul-

When the shock of American armor failed to produce breakthroughs, infantrymen moved through deep snow on foot to get at enemy positions.

timatum to surrender or risk the annihilation of his troops. McAuliffe, who had earlier received word that part of Patton's Third Army was on their way to Bastogne, responded with his memorable, one-syllable reply: "Nuts!"

Hell-bent upon the rescue of Bas-

togne, tanks of the 4th Armored Division of Patton's Third Army went into high gear alongside infantry, punching up from the south. In their remarkable dash toward the besieged town, the Third Army moved farther and engaged more enemy divisions in less time than any other army in the history of the United States. As Patton had said to Eisenhower: "This time the German has stuck his hand in a meat grinder—and I've got hold of the handle."

"Hitler's weather," a blanket of fog and cloud, continued to cloak the battleground. Allied airpower, poised to strike, could but bide its time. Forlorn U.S. soldiers looked to the sky in vain.

Finally, at dawn on December 23, a cold front moved through, sweeping the clouds away. U.S. Army Air Force P-51 Mustangs, P-47 Thunderbolts, P-38 Lightnings, and B-26 Marauders, along with Royal Air Force Typhoons, swarmed down on the Germans. The besieged troops at Bastogne received their first airdrop of badly needed supplies. At American-held Malmédy, however, a number of U.S. troops and Belgian civilians were killed when mistakenly bombed by the Ninth Air Force on three

consecutive nights.

Come Christmas morning, with German forces closing in on Bastogne, paratroopers shook hands with one another in a farewell gesture. Hour after hour, enemy soldiers bore in upon them, full-circle. In one particularly dramatic showdown, beleaguered Americans knocked out eighteen German tanks and cut to ribbons waves of white-clad Panzer grenadiers. By nightfall, the paratroopers—with cooks and mechanics and clerks fighting alongside them—still held the rim. Their Christmas present came the next day. In the fast-fading afternoon light of the 26th, the first of Patton's tanks broke into Bastogne.

For Hitler, Bastogne became the crucial symbol—the place that *must* be taken. Even into the New Year, his Panzers hit Bastogne with as many as fifteen attacks a day—but could not break the ring. A German victory here was not to be.

The price, for both sides at Bastogne, was high. Some 7,000 Germans and 3,500 Americans were killed or wounded fighting for the village.

Spellbinding though the Bastogne action was, scores of bloody thrusts and ripostes—death-duels waged by tanks, artillery, and foot-soldiers—were fought throughout the Ardennes woodlands. For the battle-worn "dogface," misery was the order of the day. "We would attack each pitch-black morning," says Corporal Mitchell Kaidy. "If we slept, it was sitting up—fitfully, shallowly, cradling our rifles and hand grenades like babies." Private First Class Thor Ronnigen remembers "dead Germans toppling into our foxholes." "There were shapes in the snow and we would fire and fire," recalls Private Charles Oxford, brother of the author of this article. "A shell-burst got me at one point. When they carried me out, my feet were frostbitten."

"The Germans came through after the moon had set," said Corporal William Fowler. "I fired my machine gun. I could hear them holler, begging for mercy when they were hit." At a roadblock, paratrooper Roger Carqueville stopped a hurrying jeep: "I stuck an M-1 at the driver's ear and asked him for the password. Turned out he was a chaplain. I figured I wasn't going to make it through the scrap, so I asked him to hear my confession. Which he did, right in the



BROWN BROTHERS, STERLING, PENNSYLVANIA

middle of the road."

The battle map of the Ardennes action took on a whirlwind look—lines of advance and withdrawal, loops and counter-loops, swirls and twists as the contenders stalked, entrapped, and pounded one another. There was no pattern to it all—just ferocity in the mist.

German tank columns could push forward only as far as their fast-dwindling fuel sustained them. Their hope of "living 'off" captured fuel supplies, though sporadically realized, proved futile. The tide of advance, sector by sector, had begun to crest.

As of Christmas morning, German tanks had smashed to within sight of the Meuse River—the high-point of their advance, some sixty miles from their starting line. But the column ran short of fuel and hit a hardening wall of U.S. armor and infantry. This far, fate ruled—and no farther.

That day and the next, the Battle of the Bulge reached its climax. In and about Celles, the U.S. 2nd Armored Division caught the Second Panzer Division, out of fuel, dead in its tracks. American armor, artillery, and infantry, strongly supported by fighter-bombers,

ripped into the enemy. In "a great slaughter," they inflicted more than 2,000 casualties on the Germans, destroying 80 tanks, 450 other vehicles, and 80 assault guns caught on the roads—losses fivefold those suffered by the Americans. The westernmost German spearhead had been decapitated.

Villages were taken, lost, retaken. In one night action, a single American artillery battalion fired eleven thousand rounds at enemy tanks. Two companies of 82nd Airborne paratroopers made a gallant, straight-ahead attack against German positions to take Cheneux. There, Corporal George Graves witnessed "bloody GI clothes. Dead bodies everywhere. Living troops hugging the ground."

The arrows of the Allied advance began to swing eastward. With clearing skies, U.S. fighter-bombers struck at enemy positions in more than five hundred sorties a day. German field commanders ordered gradual pullbacks. GIs drove through bitter enemy resistance, storms, and knee-deep snow to take back pieces of lost ground.

Headlines back home told of the turnaround: "First Army Drives Ahead in Sleet" . . . "Third Army Gains" . . . "Ice,

Mud and Fog Slow Tanks" . . . "Germans Battle Back" . . . "Americans Cut Into Bulge" . . . As the Germans had been fierce on the attack, so were they every bit as fierce in their withdrawal. Steadily collapsing the "Bulge" about themselves, they exacted heavy casualties for every foot of frozen earth.

Even in the face of disaster, many German troops remained loyal to the spirit of the *Fahneneid*, the ancient oath of the Teutonic knights that swore them to serve their leader to the death. A young SS Panzer commander had stated: "The snow must turn red with American blood. We will throw them from our homeland. It is a holy task."

Americans by the thousands found unceremonious death in the Ardennes. "I was a new replacement," recalls Private Harmon Horowitz. "One of the seasoned BAR guys said, 'Kid, stay close to me.' Two days later I saw him blown apart by a mortar shell." One soldier remembered a wounded GI, "perhaps twenty years old, with frightened eyes. The medic couldn't give him blood plasma; it was frozen. The soldier died in a barn." "Our squad had eight men," relates Private First Class Leslie Shellhase.

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The battle sealed Germany's fate. Casualties and prisoners exceeded 100,000 men—losses Germany could no longer make good.

"Within days, three had been killed—and five, counting me, had been wounded." Captain Frances Slinger, after working a string of eighteen-hour days as a nurse in a field hospital, got some

time off. While she rested in her tent, an 88-millimeter shell burst overhead. She was buried in her green fatigues.

When the shock of American armor failed to produce breakthroughs, infantrymen moved through deep snow on foot, among wooded hills and steep defiles and along serpentine rivers, working past felled trees, mines, and anti-tank guns to get at enemy positions.

Hitler unleashed one last surprise. On January 1, 1945, almost a thousand German fighter planes swept in over the Western Front at treetop level. By midday they had struck twenty-seven Allied air bases in Belgium, France, and the Netherlands, destroying or damaging nearly three hundred planes. But in so doing, they lost about three hundred of their own planes, along with irreplaceable pilots.

By the second week of the new year, the issue had been decided. On January 16, patrols of the U.S. First and Third Armies linked up at Houffalize, closing off much of the Bulge. It would take an-

other eight days to push the German troops back to their starting point. From blue skies on January 22, U.S. pilots devastated retreating German columns. By January 28, the last trace of the Bulge had disappeared.

Battle brought poignance. Captain Sally Zumaris-McKinney remembers "American soldiers shot to pieces, or frozen, or sick—just kids, some of them." Joining his battalion's mortician under cover of fire to recover bodies, Sergeant Edward Bergh came upon that of his best buddy. An infantryman relates: "One night we found shelter inside a church. It had been shattered by shell-fire. It was quiet there. I prayed near the altar, then went to sleep before it."

A million men had been caught up in desperate fighting during a six-week period in forested, mountainous, frozen terrain of five hundred square miles. Out of it all emerged the memorable figure of the foot-slogging American GI—stoic, hard-eyed, and of abiding strength. He typified the whole array of U.S. soldiers—tankers, engineers, artillery men, drivers, clerks—who, each in his own way, had fought the desperate fight. "The Battle of the Ardennes has been the most decisive of the Second World War," stated Charles MacDonald, U.S. Army historian. "It was the most important feat of arms in the history of the United States Army."

British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, addressing the House of Commons following the Battle of the Bulge, declared: "This is undoubtedly the greatest American battle of the war and will, I believe, be regarded as an ever-famous American victory."

The battle of the Ardennes lasted forty-three days and cost the United States nine times as many casualties as D-Day. Of 600,000 Americans who fought there, more than 80,000 became casualties: some 10,276 killed; 47,493 wounded; and 23,218 captured or missing. As well, U.S. forces lost about 700 tanks and tank destroyers and some 600 planes. British casualties totalled 1,400 men.

But the battle had sealed Germany's fate. Estimates of troop losses exceeded a staggering 100,000 men—with more than 10,000 killed, 50,000 wounded, and 40,000 captured—losses Germany could no longer make good. Some 800 tanks and assault guns were destroyed.

And the Luftwaffe, in a near-death gasp, lost more than 800 aircraft, leaving Germany with virtually no air force.

The Ardennes campaign was a classic example of Hitler's willingness to expect the impossible—as though to will victory would be to win it. In so doing, he not only overestimated the strength of his own forces but also undervalued the resolve of the American soldier.* The Germans, fierce though their determination was, failed to reach Antwerp; failed to destroy large pockets of trapped U.S. units; failed to get a single tank across the Meuse River. Thirty-two American and four British divisions had battled twenty-eight German divisions to a standstill, and then had driven them back into Germany.

Hitler's last, desperate gamble had, for a brief, astonishing time, seemed about to succeed. It did, in fact, upset the Allied timetable for the invasion of Germany—but at a crushing cost to his own manpower and armor. Soon the Allies would be at the Rhine.

The vast drama of the Ardennes ended, for Hitler's armies, in disillusion and disaster. "Rivers of men and machines flowed slowly toward the Fatherland," wrote historian John Toland. "Trucks, tanks and self-propelled guns rumbled east over icy roads and trails clogged with snow-drifts. Each refugee of the Battle of the Bulge brought home a story of doom, of overwhelming Allied might and of a terrible weapon forged in the Ardennes: the American fighting man."

Those who would seek Hitler's monument in those woods of death had but to look around them. Scattered upon the snow-mantled landscape rested shattered tanks, broken artillery pieces, charred vehicles. Corpses of German soldiers lay white and stiff, their weapons on the frozen earth about them.

As a German grenadier made his way out of a burning village, he scrawled on the side of a battered German scout car: "*Aus Der Traum.*" "The Dream is Over." ★

New York writer Edward Oxford has contributed more than two dozen articles to American History. His last contribution—on the World War II draft—appeared in the September/October issue.

* Nearly a score of American soldiers, displaying valor beyond the call of duty in the Ardennes, were awarded the Medal of Honor.



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Fifty years ago, Theodore O. Simpson was a corporal with a "Pack 75mm" battery in the 319 Glider Field Artillery Battalion of the 82nd Airborne Division. Simpson's vivid recollections of the Battle of the Bulge could fairly represent the memories of any of the 600,000 Americans who took part in that physically punishing and hard-fought campaign:

What I mainly remember are the still-shivering experiences of life in the "fridge" . . . never knowing (nor particularly caring) where we were at any given moment, but rather, just swapping one set of woods, hills, mined valleys, for another.

Sleeping bags with frozen zippers. (Bad, when one has contracted diarrhea from small metal flakings that cracked away from inner walls of a canteen after being heated over the campfire to melt water inside.)

Changing fire zones and positions continuously. Guns always firing. Dropping with fatigue into trail pits dug for the howitzers and sleeping soundly despite middle-of-the-night "fire missions" when one's sleeping body was two feet from a barking cannon.

Mounds of bodies under a merciful wrapping of snow. Piles of O.D. body bags beside the morning chow line. Contorted positions of the frozen dead. Singing shrapnel headed earthward from just above our heads as larger artillery units, behind, experimented with new "posit fuzes."

Eyes burning with campfire smoke. Accumulating body dirt. No baths. Always the deep, penetrating cold. Snipers in the woods. Infrequent but blessed letters from home. One reassuring feeling: everyone was there—tanks, big guns, infantry, engineers, etc.

Death reminders in every direction. A frozen hand reaching from the snow. A ruptured helmet lying alone. A German wallet beside its former owner's mutilated body—spilling letters, pictures from home.

Tangled tanks and jeeps afire. Watching smoke bubble peacefully from a Belgian home on the hillside—and wondering why they were comfortably ensconced while we were out here trying to save their country.

Vicious artillery counter-battery attacks until one or the other contender was silent. Day after frozen day dragging by, with little comfort or hope.

Fifty years later, I still do not care much for snow, frozen woods, or unexplained mounds on the frosted white ground. ★

KELLOGGS OF BATTLE CREEK



DR. JOHN HARVEY KELLOGG and Will Keith Kellogg were as different as two brothers could be. John was a flamboyant extrovert; Will, a private and humorless man. John held a degree in medicine and diligently pursued advanced study to enhance his medical skills; Will never finished high school.* John built a struggling health spa into a world-famous institution; Will spent a quarter-century working for and being overshadowed by his older brother before finally achieving success in his own right. Different as the two brothers were, each played an important role in the development of cereal foods and in changing the nation's breakfast-eating habits.

John Harvey Kellogg was born in Tyron, Michigan in 1852 to John Preston Kellogg, a farmer, and his second wife Ann. Four years later, the family moved to Battle Creek, where John Preston opened a broom factory and became active in the affairs of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which had its headquarters in that city. In 1860 Will Keith was born into the large family that eventually included (counting five offspring from his widower father's first marriage) sixteen children.

A strict disciplinarian, John Preston required his sons to work in the broom factory as soon as they were capable of productive labor. At the age of twelve, John Harvey became an apprentice printer in the Adventist publishing

*Although early employment forced Will to drop out of high school, he later completed a one-year business course in four months.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BATTLE CREEK

BY RON HOTCHKISS THE COMPETITIVE KELLOGG BROTHERS—JOHN HARVEY AND W.K.—WERE “LIKE TWO FELLOWS TRYING TO CLIMB UP THE SAME LADDER AT THE SAME TIME,” BUT EACH IN HIS OWN WAY PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CEREAL FOODS IN AMERICA.

house. While setting type for articles in which church leader Ellen G. White encouraged members to adopt certain health measures, including vegetarianism, as part of their religious obligation, the youth became interested enough in the practices she described to adopt them himself.

At the age of twenty-one, encouraged by the Adventist leadership to embark on a career in medicine, John entered the University of Michigan Medical School. He later transferred to the Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York City and received his degree there in 1875. The following year he assumed the post of medical superintendent at the Western Health Reform Institute in Battle Creek, established in 1866 by the Adventists to offer their natural remedies for illness.

Lacking a proper medical staff who could win the trust of would-be patients, the Institute had up to this time achieved only minimal success. Dr. Kellogg was hired to give the enterprise credibility, and, thereby, improve its financial status. The appointment proved fortuitous.

Within two years, Kellogg had changed the name to the Battle Creek Sanitarium and, by hiring qualified doctors and

Flamboyant Michigan physician John Harvey Kellogg (with his trademark white suit and pet cockatoo, opposite) built the Battle Creek Sanitarium into one of the world's leading health resorts—and in the process helped to invent ready-to-eat breakfast cereals.

His dour but hard-working younger brother Will Keith Kellogg (standing, right), took the corn-flake idea and with it created the world's largest breakfast cereal company. (Although the workaholic cereal manufacturer claimed that he never learned how to have fun, in later years he tried; here Will inspects the Arabian horse ranch he owned in California.)



UPI/BETTMANN, NEW YORK CITY.



“NOW, Ain’t You Glad You Came?”

The very sight of Kellogg’s Toasted Corn Flakes makes you want to grab a spoon and go to it.

Everybody, child or grown-up, from two to toothless, feels the taste appeal of the famous Kellogg flavor.

Easy to serve—just three minutes from package to table, and this includes two minutes re-crisping in an open oven. Fresh always.

Look for this Signature

W. K. Kellogg



“None genuine without this signature,” proclaimed a headline on early boxes of Kellogg’s Toasted Corn Flakes; read at the breakfast tables of millions of households, “W.K. Kellogg” has over the years become one of the most recognizable names associated with any American product.

nurses and instituting a program for healthful living, significantly improved the quality of medical care offered. He then set about attracting a clientele who could afford to pay well for treatment. To this end, he looked for tired businessmen who were suffering from neurasthenia (a

catchall phrase at the time for neurosis and exhaustion) or dyspepsia (chronic indigestion). Soon many of America’s wealthiest and most influential business leaders—men such as Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller, and Harvey Firestone—flocked to the Sanitarium for recuperation and rejuvenation.

The program at the “San” included fresh air, exercise, rest, “hydrotherapy,” a strict vegetarian diet, and abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, coffee, and tea. To compensate for this rather spartan regimen, Kellogg offered his well-to-do clients a variety of activities that includ-

ed picnics, Shakespearean plays, gymnastics, and cooking classes. He maintained personal contact with the patients by presiding over a Monday evening “Question Box” lecture.

In 1880 John hired his twenty-year-old brother Will for \$6 per week plus room and board to serve as general factotum at the Sanitarium. A serious young man who by his own assessment “never learned to play,” Will was soon responsible for duties that ranged from keeping the accounts to supervising the printing of his brother’s health-journal articles and books to running errands. Although Will’s formal education was limited, he had supported himself since the age of fourteen and already had extensive business experience. His adept management soon became a key factor in the financial success of the institution.

Will’s secondary role in time became a galling one, however, and the natural sibling rivalry was made worse by the eighteen- to twenty-hour workdays that the domineering and tireless doctor imposed on his younger brother, plus John’s repeated failure to give credit where it was due.

Many of the three thousand patients from all over the world who filled the Sanitarium at its height had previously thought nothing of sitting down to a breakfast of ham, eggs, sausages, fried potatoes, hot biscuits, hotcakes, and coffee. Getting them to forsake this heavy diet for vegetarianism posed a problem, which led Dr. Kellogg to seek ways of providing tasteful new “natural” foods that would meet the variety demanded by his guests.

Fortunately, the direction had already been shown to him. In 1893, Henry D. Perky of Colorado had experimented with boiling and steaming wheat to render the grain pliable enough to be made into biscuits. Because early versions of this food spoiled quickly, Perky continued to experiment, eventually achieving success with shredded wheat. While looking for new foods for his patients, Kellogg visited Perky in Denver. Perky agreed to provide the physician with a shredding machine: his failure to deliver on this promise and his subsequent manufacture of patented shredded wheat biscuits led to a determination on Kellogg’s part to find a superior alternative.

The basic formula for his new flaked

CULVER PICTURES, NEW YORK CITY.

cereal came to Dr. Kellogg, he later claimed, in a dream. Upon waking, he "boiled some wheat, and while it was soft, I ran it through a machine Mrs. Kellogg had for rolling dough out thin. This made the wheat into thin films, and I scraped it off with a case knife and baked [the resulting flakes] in the oven."

By 1895 John and Will Kellogg had outfitted a small barn on the hospital grounds in which they, with the assistance of the doctor's wife, Ella, began the manufacture of flaked wheat cereal for use in the Sanitarium. Three years later, Will's experiments culminated in development of the first flaked corn cereal. To fill the resulting demand for flaked cereals among former Sanitarium patients, in 1899 Dr. Kellogg established the Sanitas Nut Food Company, with Will as manager, to produce and sell the products.

It was Charles William Post, however, who revealed the vast potential market for processed cereal foods. Post, who as a patient at the Sanitarium had become acquainted with the Kelloggs' cereal products, introduced Postum (a coffee substitute) in 1895, and his better-known Grape Nuts cereal three years later. More significantly, he devised new methods of mass distribution and, by means of active advertising, convinced the public to use his product. "It Makes Red Blood," the Postum advertisement proclaimed. The approach worked, and the demand for these new cereal products increased dramatically.

Production details for the Kelloggs' flaked cereal manufacturing process soon leaked out, and during the early 1900s Battle Creek experienced a boom as speculators took advantage of the health- and cereal-food craze. In a city of less than thirty thousand people, more than forty wheat-flake companies were incorporated during 1901 alone.

At the Sanitarium, meanwhile, Will Kellogg became increasingly frustrated with his brother's reticence in promoting their promising corn cereal product. Already preoccupied with his many responsibilities, which included a busy surgical practice, the doctor refused to consider widespread distribution for fear that such commercialization would reflect badly on his and the Sanitarium's reputation in the medical community.

In spite of the doctor's opposition, Will began to promote their corn flakes.

The sweet heart of the corn

The Greatest Cereal Story Ever Told

Less than three years ago we published our first announcement in the *Ladies Home Journal*. In this short space of time the output of Kellogg's Toasted Corn Flakes has grown from a few hundred packages a day to over a million packages a day. It won its favor through its flavor. It is holding first prize in the tables of the Nation in the same way. Nothing else can take its place.

Kellogg's
TOASTED CORN FLAKES

The package of the genuine bears this signature

W. K. Kellogg

Toasted Corn Flake Co., Battle Creek, Mich.
Corn Meal, Toasted Corn Meal, Sugar, Salt, Butter, and Oil

Kellogg's
TOASTED CORN FLAKES

W. K. Kellogg
TOASTED CORN FLAKE CO.
BATTLE CREEK, MICH.

The sweet heart of the corn

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Door-to-door sampling campaigns delivered corn-flake packages to nearly every house in the city. Streetcar signs, window displays, and salesmen informed consumers of the benefits of the product. By 1905, the Sanitas Nut Food Company factory was producing 150 cases of corn flakes each day, but even this did not keep up with the orders.

Finally, at age forty-six, Will Kellogg decided to strike out on his own. He purchased the right to make corn flakes from John, paying him with shares of stock in the new venture. The Battle Creek Toasted Corn Flake Company

was incorporated on February 19, 1906, with Will as manager. The doctor, however, held the majority of the shares.

As a cost-saving measure at the Sanitarium, Dr. Kellogg subsequently offered the staff physicians shares of stock in the corn-flake operation as part of their compensation. Some needed cash more than an investment and, when approached by Will, gladly sold their stock. Within a few years Will—and not John Harvey—held the controlling shares in the Battle Creek Toasted Corn Flake Company.

Finally independent of his brother after

more than a quarter-century, Will set out to establish his company as the predominant force in the cereal food industry. The early years were not easy. Post's Postum Cereal Company was a formidable competitor. Also, on July 4, 1907, the corn-flake factory burned to the ground. But Will's ability showed through when he had a new plant built and in production within six months.

It was in the area of consumer advertising that Will Kellogg proved himself particularly astute. When as an experiment he placed a full-page ad in a 1906 issue of the *The Ladies Home Journal*, corn flake sales skyrocketed to nearly three thousand cases a day. By 1915 the company was investing one million dollars a year in product promotion. There were premiums, games, and inserts for children and teenagers. There were contests for retailers. "Wink at your grocer and see what you get," invited one ad. Also, the company devised a trade character—the "Sweetheart of the Corn," exemplar of the wholesome American girl—who smiled from every box of corn flakes.

In 1910 the adversarial relationship between the two brothers finally reached a breaking point when they clashed over the rights to use of the Kellogg name in the manufacture of breakfast foods. An

out-of-court settlement the following year did permit John's company to use the Kellogg name on the Sanitarium's flaked cereal foods, subject to certain restrictions, but in 1916 the controversy flared again. This time the judge ruled that the Kellogg Toasted Corn Flake Company was the exclusive owner of the trade name, except for the use granted to John in 1911.

It was ironic that as Will's star rose during the 1920s and '30s, John's career declined. The health-spa concept had by this time lost much of its appeal, and the Depression affected business even more. In 1933 the institution went into receivership. In 1942 the major properties of the Battle Creek Sanitarium were sold to the U.S. Army; what was left of the health resort moved across the street to the old Sanitarium Annex. Then, on December 14, 1943—two months short of his ninety-second birthday—Dr. John Harvey Kellogg died.

The Kellogg Company, meanwhile, went from success to success. Mechanized agriculture provided an abundance of grain at low cost. Women's magazines educated the populace in the uses of factory-processed "patent foods." And through advertising, flaked cereals became identified in the public's mind with purity and progress.

Will continued to set the industry standard for advertising. In 1931 the company made extensive use of radio, especially through "The Singing Lady" program broadcast over the NBC network. Kel-

logg also led the way, with considerable success, in focusing advertising promotions on the children of consumers.

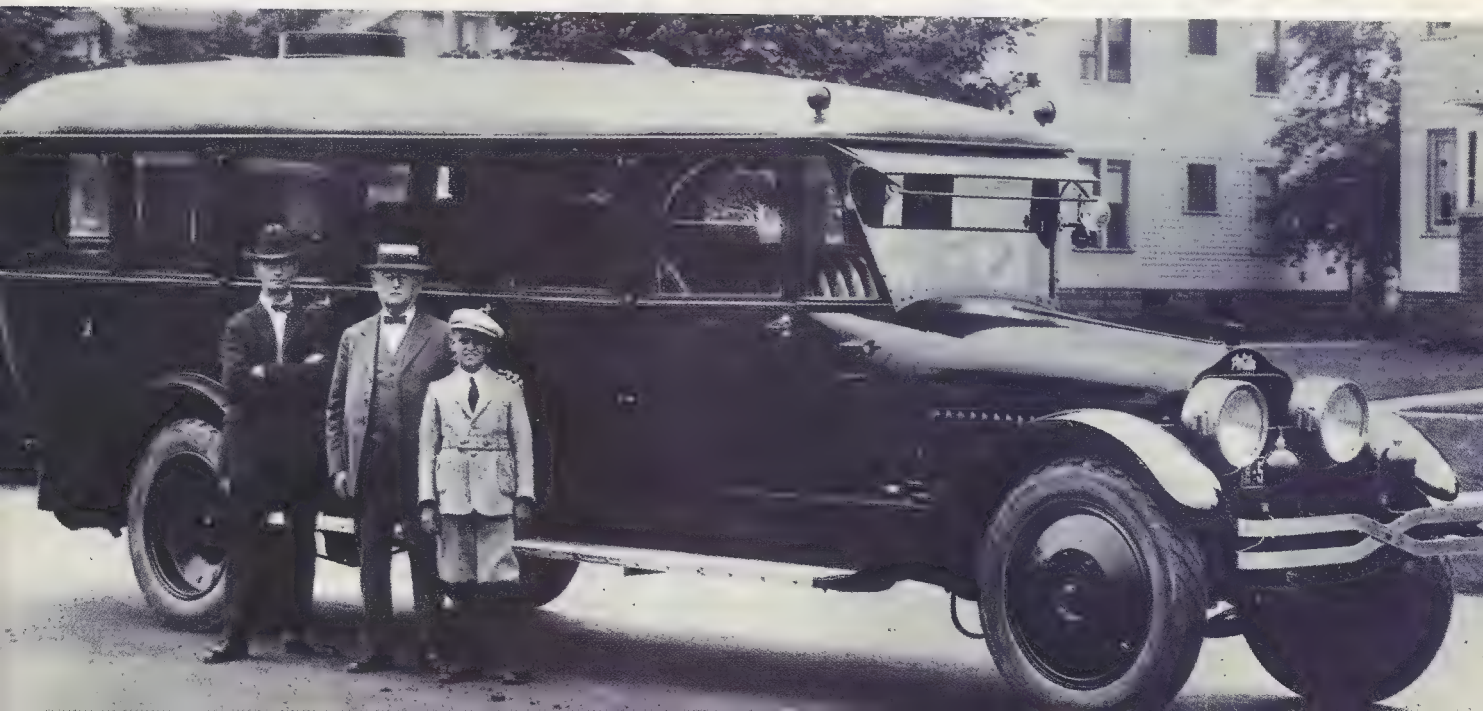
For all his business achievements, Will's personal life was marked by misfortune. His first wife died; his grandson (the chosen successor for future leadership of the company) committed suicide; and Will became blind as the result of glaucoma. Despite these setbacks, he exhibited great humanitarian zeal, which culminated in the 1925 establishment of the Fellowship Corporation (renamed the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in 1930). The Foundation's philosophy reflected that of its founder in projects such as the diagnosis of speech defects in children and the construction of schools, hospitals, camps, and playgrounds. Today it continues to serve humanity as one of the world's leading philanthropic institutions.

Will Kellogg was ninety-one years old when he died on October 6, 1951.

A contemporary of the Kellogg brothers once observed that "John Harvey Kellogg and W.K. Kellogg were like two fellows trying to climb up the same ladder at the same time." Both brothers had been ambitious and intelligent. Consummate salesmen for their respective causes, they were sensitive to the needs of Americans. Each, in the end, made significant contributions to American life—in part due to the energy generated by their personal competition. ★

Ron Hotchkiss teaches history in Kingston, Ontario, and writes articles on historical topics for a variety of publications.

Although W.K. Kellogg gave away much of his wealth through his philanthropic foundation, he did indulge in a few luxuries—such as this custom-made motor home boasting pullman berths, electric kitchen, and ice machine.



continued from page 35

Washington: "The 'Republic of Panama' may declare itself independent and the canal treaty may be made with it." That is exactly what happened.

In the summer of 1903, in New York and Panama City, insurrectionary agents for the "Republic of Panama" fomented a not-very-secret rebellion. The Roosevelt administration knew about it (as did anyone who read a newspaper), welcomed it, and prepared for the event. But the U.S. government neither plotted nor funded the revolt. "Our policy before the world," advised Assistant Secretary of State Alvey A. Adee, "should stand, like Mrs. Caesar, without suspicion." On both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, U.S. naval and Marine forces deployed to within a day's steaming of the isthmus. In Panama City, coup leaders bought off key Colombian officers. Panama Railroad officials, mostly Americans, played critical roles in ensuring success.

On November 2, 1903, the gunboat *Nashville* arrived at Colón. The next day, as the plotters were about to declare the Republic, the small Colombian cruiser *Cartagena* steamed in, carrying five hundred men of the *Tiradores* (Sharpshooters) Battalion. If these troops got to Panama City, the rebellion would die aborning. The problem was neatly solved by the Panama Railroad. There were only enough cars for the Colombian commander and his staff, sighed the general superintendent—the bulk of the *Tiradores* would have to wait in Colón until other cars could be rounded up, and they would have to pay cash for the tickets.

That afternoon of November 3, the *Tiradores'* commander and staff, after arriving in Panama City, were arrested by turncoat Colombian officers. The Panama rebels immediately declared the Republic, and word was telegraphed to the U.S. State Department.

Back in Colón, the *Tiradores* threatened to put that town to the torch and kill every American unless they got a train. The skipper of the *Nashville* landed his force, forty-two sailors and Marines, and maneuvered to bring his ship's four-inch guns to bear on the enraged Colombian soldiery.

At any moment a full-scale firefight could have erupted. But it all turned out to be anticlimax: "Sighted USS *Dixie*," penned the *Nashville's* officer of the

deck. Carrying a battalion of Marines, the American transport settled the question of the Panama revolt. The Marines marched through the shanty streets of Colón, and the sullen *Tiradores* sailed for home. On November 6, the United States granted formal recognition to the new Republic of Panama.

A treaty was drafted in near-record time. Panama granted to the United States "in perpetuity" all rights to a "zone of land" for the digging, operation, and protection "of the Canal to be constructed." Thus was obtained the anvil upon which was forged the key to America's hemispheric defense and global grand strategies for the next four decades.

Nicaragua, where the canal nearly happened, lies in the center of Central America. It has been a sharp thorn to its neighbors and, because of its rippling effect on Panama, to the United States. José Santós Zelaya, Liberal *caudillo* president, attempted to impose Nicaraguan hegemony in Central America and in 1907 invaded Honduras. The State Department considered Zelaya a medieval tyrant "guilty of murder and rape" and ordered naval vessels to Nicaragua's Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

In 1909 a Conservative revolution toppled Zelaya, though it left the Liberals in power. Frustrated, Secretary of State Philander Knox complained to President William Howard Taft that "there should be some conventional right to intervene in Central American affairs promptly, without waiting for outbreaks and with a view to averting rather than quelling disturbances."

In December 1909, the transport *Buffalo* carried a 750-man Marine Nicaraguan Expeditionary Force to Corinto (described by Marine Major Smedley Butler as "the hottest place this side of hell"), on Nicaragua's Pacific shore. On the Atlantic side, the continuing civil war threatened the port of Bluefields. Gunboat landing parties established neutral zones within the town limits. By August the Conservatives had achieved victory.

The Taft administration recognized the new government and initiated a program of "Dollar Diplomacy," described by Secretary Knox as "dollars instead of bullets." It did not work. By the spring of 1912 the Nicaraguan government was on very shaky legs. Events swept

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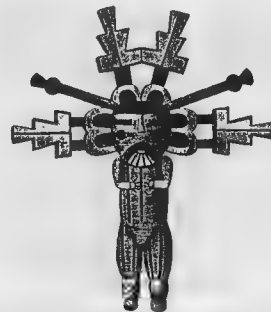
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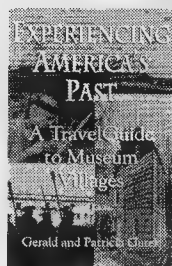
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out of control with a revolt by the Conservative minister of war, General Mena, and the Liberals dynamiting Managua's Fort La Loma. The Conservative president, Adolfo Díaz appealed for American intervention.

On the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, U.S. gunboats landed parties to guard the legation at Managua and the port of Bluefields. Up from Panama came a Marine battalion to bolster the Managua force. Major units of the U.S. Pacific Fleet arrived off Corinto, and a provisional Marine regiment under Colonel Joseph Pendleton sailed from Philadelphia.

The big battle occurred on October 3, when the Marines, supported by sailors and artillery, stormed the Liberal positions at Cayotepe. At León, the traditional Liberal stronghold, 1,300 Marines and bluejackets attacked and occupied the city, defeating a drunken, rioting garrison and ending the revolt. Before year's end American forces, save for legation guards, were withdrawn. "I think nearly everybody," said "Uncle Joe" Pendleton, "was glad to see us, and I think they were impressed with the idea the United States means to see that revolutions in Nicaragua are done with."

On July 28, 1915, 340 Marines and sailors from the armored cruiser *Washington* landed at Bizoton, just outside Port-au-Prince, Haiti, marking the beginning of nineteen years of U.S. occupation there—the longest of the Banana Wars.

Haiti had no parties, only factions, and political succession happened through coup or revolution. Between 1838 and the arrival of the Americans, there were 102 of them. President Woodrow Wilson attempted to force certain reforms on several Haitian governments, only to be met with disdainful dismissal. World War I, and the fact that Germany had large investments in Haiti, only heightened United States apprehension. By 1915 Haiti was in a state of political, social, and economic collapse.

In July of that year a new civil war panicked Haitian President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam into butchering perhaps two hundred opposition family members in Port-au-Prince. Sam and his police chief were in turn slaughtered by the city mob, their heads were paraded about on poles, and parts of their bodies were publicly eaten. Offshore on the

Washington, Rear Admiral William Caperton watched events horribly unfold. The diplomatic community pleaded with him to land forces to restore order in the capital. His quick response did exactly that.

A rapid buildup, with the 1st Marine Brigade presence eventually numbering about four thousand men, brought an initial peace of sorts. The Haitian army was disbanded immediately. Within two weeks of the intervention, an American-guided legislative election brought a pliant puppet to the presidential palace. A treaty of cooperation transformed Haiti into an American protectorate under the auspices of the Navy Department. U.S. officers administered the customs service, police and prisons, public health and sanitation, supervised government finances and education, and commanded a new Haitian *gendarmerie*. The Franco-Haitian *élite*, traditional skimmers of the national purse, were for intents disenfranchised.

Peace and stability did not come without military operations. There were several campaigns against the *cacos*, extortionist mountain thieves who had hitherto served whichever faction paid the most to retain or topple a presidency.

Until the close of World War I, no one in the United States much cared about what was happening in Haiti, but war's end brought with it scandal and public view. In an effort to construct modern paved roads, the American administration employed the ancient French system of the *corvée*, road-gang work in lieu of taxes. The Marine brigade had been depleted by calls to greater duty in France, and much of the labor recruitment and overseeing was done by the Haitian *gendarmerie*. The system was historically capable of tremendous abuse. Bribery, extortion, and ill-treatment were common. Large numbers of workers deserted into the ranks of the *cacos*, and the spark was struck for a major uprising against the American presence.

Charlemagne Masséna Peralte, a "gros nègre," sworn enemy of the puppet government and its American masters, launched a *caco* insurrection in the fall of 1918. The Haitian *gendarmerie* proved woefully inept, and the job fell to the Marine brigade, bolstered with aircraft and combat veterans from the Great War.

On the night of October 6, 1919,

Charlemagne led several hundred followers in a raid on Port-au-Prince and was nearly wiped out by a counterattack of Marines and *gendarmes*. Later in the month, two Marine Corps enlisted men and sixteen handpicked *gendarmes* staged an elaborate ruse, entered Charlemagne's camp, and killed him with two .45-cal. bullets to the heart. To convince Haiti of the *gros nègre's* death, the corpse was tied to a door, photographed, and publicly displayed. It was an extraordinary act of political stupidity. Appearing Christ-like, upright in his bonds, Charlemagne became an instant martyr.

Taken together, the abuses of the *corvée* and the episode with Charlemagne brought loud calls in the U.S. Congress and press for an investigation of the Haiti mess. The Marine Corps, so recently hailed for its heroic conduct on the Western Front, was now vilified. "American Marines," went one hysterical account in the *New York Times*, "opened fire with machine guns from airplanes upon defenseless Haitian villages, killing men, women, and children in the open market place." The Haitian *élite* spread obscene tales of villagers "devoured by war dogs imported from the Philippines."

A U.S. Senate committee went to Haiti in 1921, resulting in appointment of a High Commissioner to govern in place of the Navy Department and a reduction of the Marines. In 1930, the United States being in the well of the Great Depression, the occupation's military and civilian functions were increasingly transferred to Haitians. On August 14, 1934, the 2nd Marine Regiment, sole remnant of nineteen years in Haiti, boarded their transport at Port-au-Prince. "Neither the Haitians, the American public, nor the Marines," noted the *Denver News*, "will feel very badly about it if they never go back."

The Dominican Republic, wrote an American observer, "is about the size of Ireland and has caused almost as much trouble." The nation that shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti had known almost no peace. Its internal problems stemmed from *caudillismo*, the recurrent symptom of military strongmen. Externally, troubles grew from massive, constant overextension of credit and terribly ruinous debts. International law permitted military force as a means of collection.

In July 1904, the Dominican Republic defaulted, again. To force payment, France, Italy, and Belgium threatened to seize the customs house in the capital port, Santo Domingo. The administration of President Theodore Roosevelt could not permit that. In an unofficial preamble to the "Roosevelt Corollary" of the Monroe Doctrine, the president said, "If we intend to say 'Hands off' to the powers of Europe, then sooner or later we must keep order ourselves." In January 1905, the United States took control over the Dominican customs houses, parceling debts to creditors and operating funds to the Dominican government.

In 1914, an American-supervised election brought *caudillo* Juan Isidro Jiménez to office. In return for continued support, President Woodrow Wilson demanded an American financial advisor at the treasury and an American-officered constabulary. Jiménez agreed but the Dominican legislature did not, and that body threatened impeachment. On May 1, 1916, war minister General Desiderio Arias forced Jiménez out.

Within days, five companies of Marines were dispatched from neighboring Haiti and Guantánamo Bay and joined with ships' landing parties to form a provisional regiment. On May 15, they occupied Santo Domingo. General Arias escaped north. "Considerable anti-American sentiment," wired the U.S. minister. The bloodless *entre* disguised what would become eight fruitless years of occupation to no purpose.

The Marines, reinforced to more than eight hundred men by Joe Pendleton's 4th Regiment, with artillery, four-wheel-drive prime movers, and Ford Model-T cars, skirted the island by water, and landed at Monte Cristi on the north coast. From there, Pendleton marched, skirmished, and fought seventy miles inland to Arias' stronghold at Santiago, where the ex-war minister surrendered.

The political mess began when the compromise president refused on constitutional grounds to accept an American commander for the Dominican national guard. In disastrous coercion, the U.S. minister halted all customs-house revenues into the country. The economy and attendant bureaucracy stopped dead. Threats of armed resistance brought martial law to the capital. By November President Wilson and the State Department,

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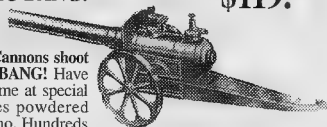
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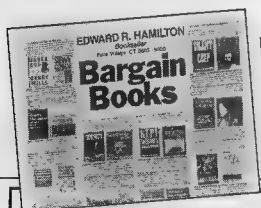
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spooked by Arias' pro-German leanings and convinced that the country was incapable of self-reform, declared the Dominican Republic "in a state of military occupation . . . subject to military government." Marine and naval officers assumed cabinet positions. Colonel Joe Pendleton, for instance, became Minister of War and Navy, Interior and Police; not even Haiti had been so humiliated.

As in Haiti, the Dominican Republic's infrastructure, penal system, public education, public health, and sanitation were given thorough overhauls. But none of these reforms really mattered. The occupation had no unifying program beyond keeping order and training a nonpartisan constabulary. Widespread resistance in the countryside erupted, aided in part by traditional *gavillero* bandits. A movement of national liberation blossomed, becoming especially effective during the drawdown of American forces in the whole region during World War I. Again, as in Haiti, isolated atrocities achieved national attention in the United States.

By 1920 no one could think of any reason for staying on. The Marines were withdrawn from the rural areas and concentrated in the cities. A Dominican-officered national police took up its duties. A new constitution, elections, and transitional government were put in place. In the summer of 1924 the last of the Marines left without lament.

The final American military intervention during the classic period of the Banana Wars took place in Nicaragua from 1927 to 1934 and augured some very uncomfortable parallels with the future Vietnam War. The latest strife pitted the Liberal "outs" against the Conservative "ins," and for the first time Soviet-influenced Communism replaced Germany as the chief menace to United States' hemispheric security. The scare spread to where the Associated Press saw "the specter of a Mexican-fostered Bolshevistic hegemony intervening between the United States and the Panama Canal." Raising the Red scare, the Conservative Nicaraguan regime of Adolfo Díaz desperately sought overt American assistance. The State Department didn't bite, and instead slapped an arms embargo on the whole country. Having just untangled itself from the Dominican tar pit,

the U.S. government had no wish to fall into another. Ships' landing forces went ashore in some ports to establish neutral safe zones, but nothing beyond that.

Meantime, the civil war raged on, with the Liberals gaining strength. In January 1927, President Calvin Coolidge announced the sale of ammunition to the Díaz government. The same month, the 2nd Battalion, 5th Marines arrived to protect communications between Managua and the sea. In February, the Liberals under General José Moncada inflicted severe defeats on the government army. Deserting soldiers and endemic bandits ravaged the countryside. Díaz formally requested American military intervention. It was refused, but more American forces poured in to guard ports and railroads. When the British threatened to send warships to protect their nationals, the Roosevelt Corollary kicked in. More reinforcements were sent, forming the 2nd Marine Brigade that included an aviation squadron. The civil war deadlocked.

In May 1927 former U.S. Secretary of War Henry Stimson negotiated an eminently fair solution, providing for a Marine-officered, Nicaraguan *guardia* and American-supervised elections during the coming year. The Marines would then go home. In the United States, part of the aware public did not see it that way. Charges of "imperialism" were hurled at the Coolidge administration, and the normally sane Republican Senator George Norris considered the agreement "shocking to every peace-loving citizen in civilization."

Another who felt sold out, and who refused to be a party to the peace, was a difficult Liberal field commander with messianic ambitions, Augusto César Sandino, whose men called themselves *Sandinistas*. For six frustrating years the Marines and *guardia* would fight them up and down the Nicaraguan mountains. The *Sandinistas* proved excellent at ambush, and mercilessly inhuman as captors.

The jungle battles took on the tint of modern warfare, providing a precursor to what future American generations would experience on Guadalcanal and in Vietnam. Air power was used extensively, and Marine aviators perfected the technique of dive-bombing in support of ground troops and air evacuation of wounded from the battlefield. Automatic weapons were used by both sides to a

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TIME CAPSULE

THE MISSED CHANCE

There is a saying among naval men to the effect that the costs of building and operating a warship and maintaining and training her crew over her years of service are repaid in a single hour of battle.

A time- and water-frosted porthole (right), recovered in 1986 from a long-sunken hulk in the Philippines, is a reminder of a proud American warship that—because of an ironic twist of fate—just missed her one chance to prove her worth in battle.

When the United States created a modern Navy during the 1880s and '90s, the standouts of the fleet included not only several powerful battleships but an armored cruiser of formidable design—the 380-foot, 8,200-ton *New York* (below). With her near-ideal combination of powerful guns, heavy armor, high speed, and long range, the *New York* was one of the Navy's most-admired warships. During the Spanish-American War she served, with Rear Admiral William T.

Sampson on the flag bridge, as flagship of the North Atlantic Squadron.

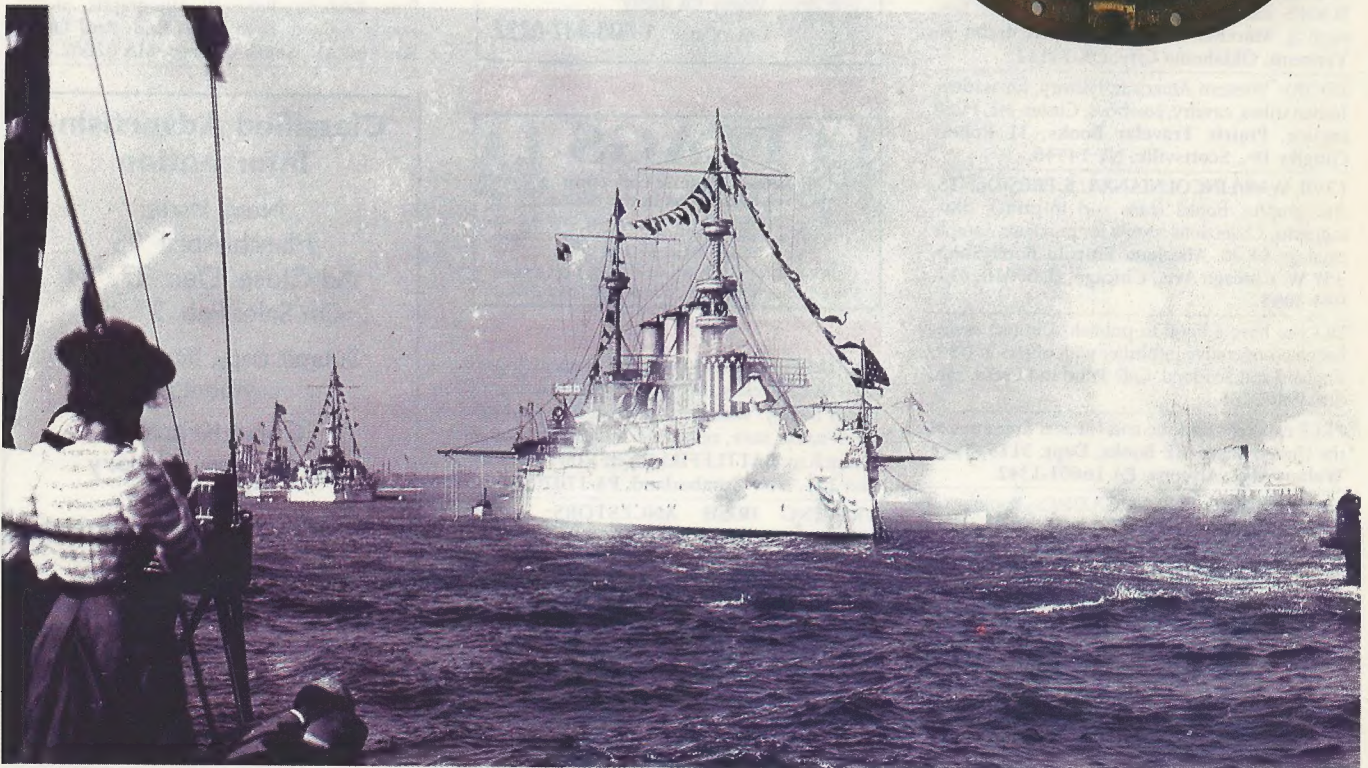
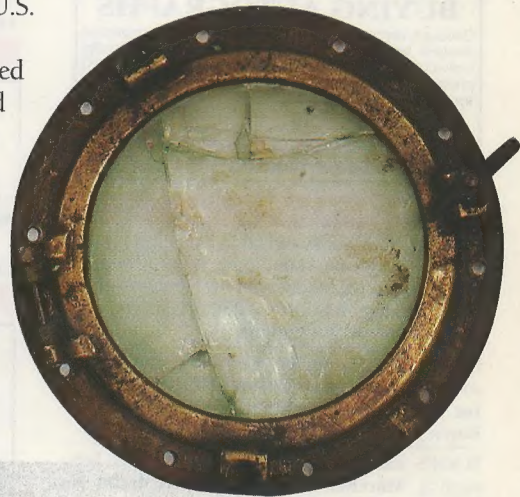
All through June 1898, the American fleet in Cuban waters, under Sampson's command, maintained a blockade around the southern coastal city of Santiago, where Spanish warships under Vice Admiral Pascual Cervera lay in the harbor.

Just before 9 A.M. on the morning of July 3, Sampson ordered the *New York* to leave her station temporarily and head east toward Siboney, where he was scheduled to confer with General W. Rufus Shafter, commander of the U.S. Army forces besieging Santiago.

At 9:35, just as the *New York* slipped over the horizon, gunfire erupted from the direction of Santiago. The Spanish fleet was deploying! The flagship turned about and poured on the coal—but the pursuit was in vain; other warships fired the telling rounds that drove the Spanish fleet onto the beaches of the Cuban coast, effectively ending the Spanish-American War.

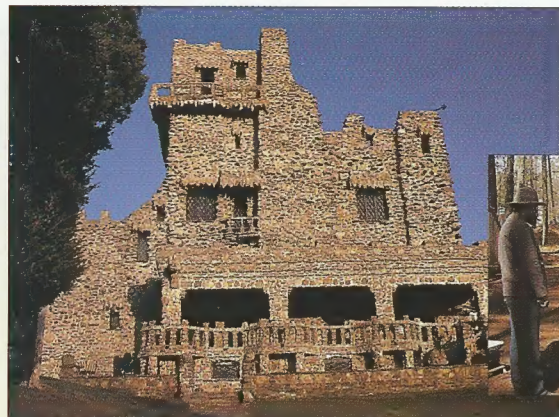
The *New York* saw several decades of distinguished service—but she never had another chance for glory like the one she missed on July 3, 1898. The old warship finally ended her days as a hulk at the U.S. Naval Base in Subic Bay, Philippines—where on Christmas Eve 1941 she was scuttled to prevent her capture by the approaching Japanese. ★

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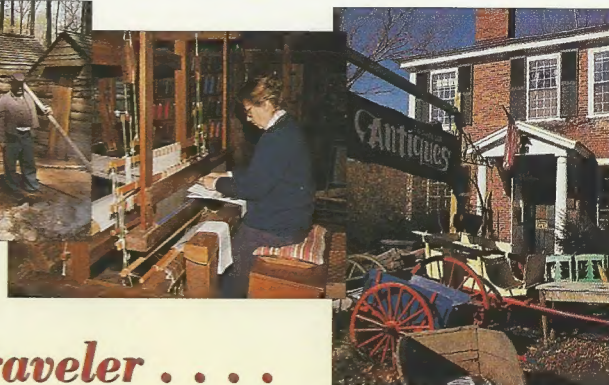
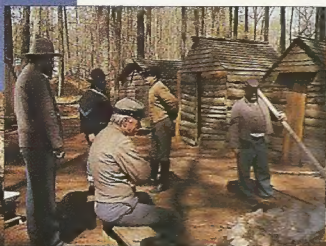


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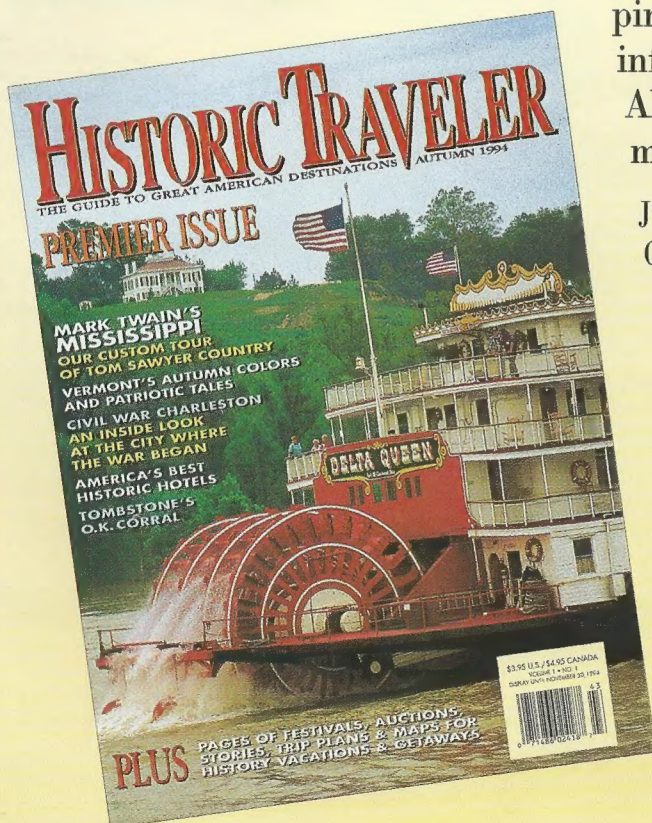
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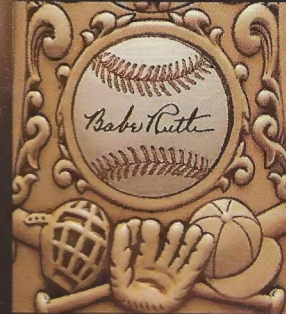


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